



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

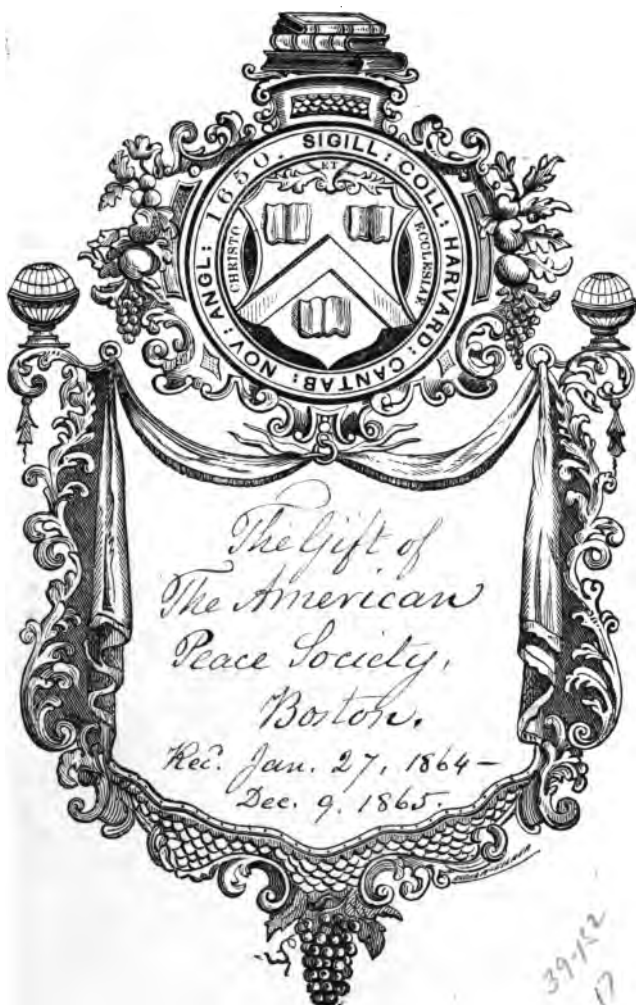
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

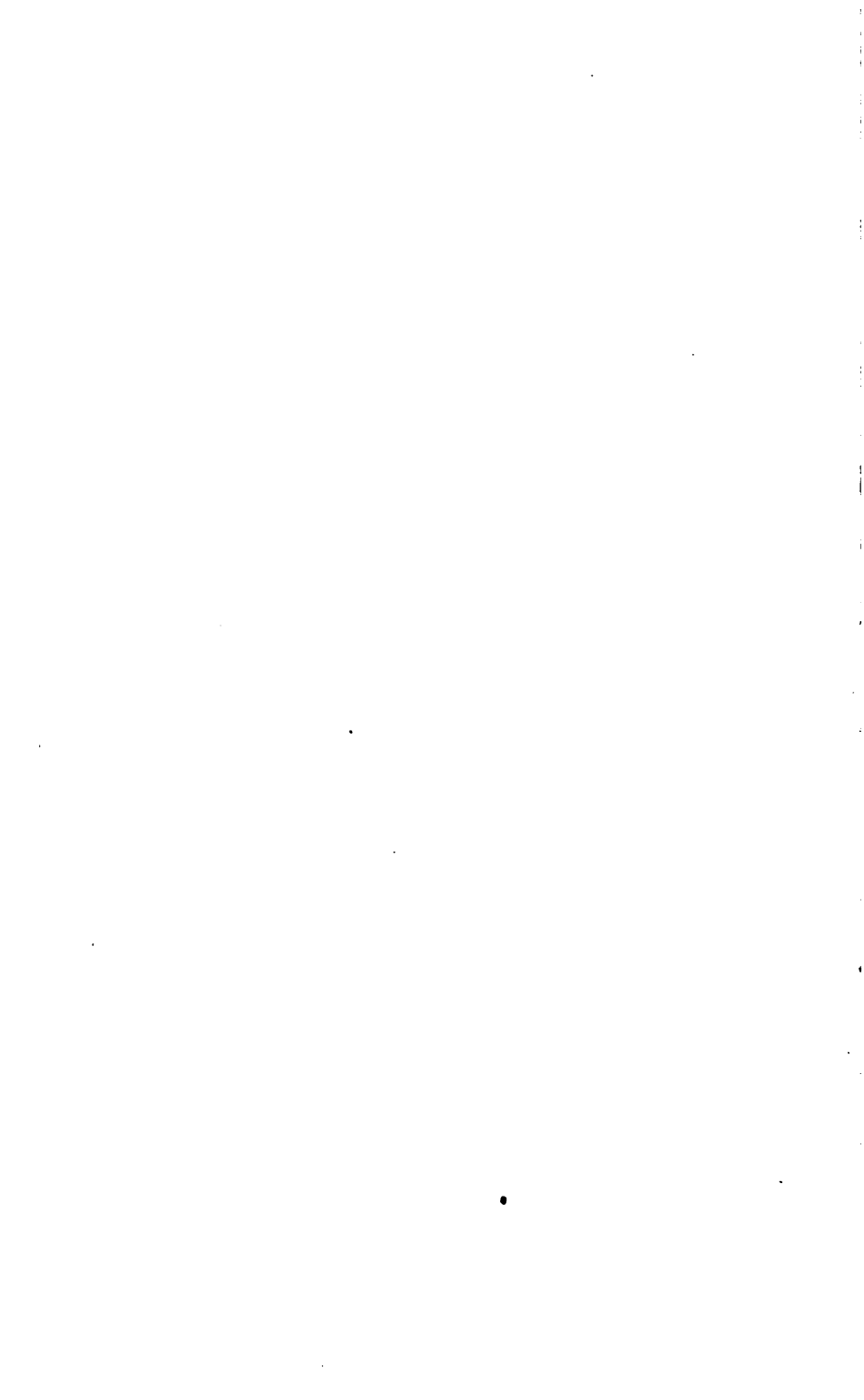
About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Int 6201.1

Br Jan. 1867.







THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE,

FOR YEARS 1864-5.

VOLUME XV.

BOSTON:
PUBLISHED BY THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY,
23 CHAUNCEY STREET.

Int 13-1
6201.1



01-152
17

THE


ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

CONTENTS.

Position of the Peace Society.....	5	Tax of our officials.....	24
Why the cause of Peace not more successful.....	9	Our capacity for taxation.....	24
A Missionary's testimony on Peace..	10	Cost of military salutes.....	25
Operations in suppressing our Re- bellion.....	11	Our National Finances.....	26
Feeders of War.....	12	How our debt grows.....	27
What are the Guerillas.....	15	Spent on Fortifications.....	28
Rebel waste of Life.....	15	Comparative prodigality of war....	28
Christians responsible for the cause of Peace.....	16	Incidental wastes of war.....	28
Prizes, or legal plunder.....	20	Rebel Finances.....	29
Man physically degraded by war....	20	Rebel Drafts.....	31
Statistics of human life.....	20	Rebel Economy.....	31
Rebel treatment of prisoners.....	21	What it costs to feed an army.....	32
Treatment of Surgeons.....	21	Rebel Representation.....	32
Statement of released Surgeons..	22	Prize Fighting.....	33
Rebel Treatment of colored troops..	23	Hardships of military service.....	33
Pensions.....	23	Pensions.....	33
Chapter on Taxation.....	24	Expenditure of Emulation.....	34
Income tax in England.....	24	Gettysburg Battle.....	34
		Fidelity of Quakers to their principles.	35
		How soon will the Rebellion end....	36
		Absurdity of War.....	36

 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.

1864.



THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, 1864.

POSITION OF THE PEACE SOCIETY.

The friends of peace ought by this time to be sufficiently understood, as we have always been, more especially since the outbreak of this rebellion, frankly explicit in stating both our principles and our policy ; but there are still so many misconceptions, or such utter ignorance respecting them, among even good, intelligent men, that we deem it a special duty to make sure, if we can, of keeping before the public our precise views, aims and operations.

Let it, then, be borne ever in mind within what limits this great reform is restricted. It never professed to be a cure for all the ills of society ; there are scores of these which it does not directly touch. There is a multitude of questions, deeply interesting to the mass of mankind, with which it expressly refuses to concern itself. It does not attempt to say, nor ever has, how a family or a school shall be regulated, or to interfere in the internal operations of civil government, and prescribe how any class of offenders against society shall be restrained or punished ; by what means law shall be put in force against its violators, and government maintained in its rightful, indispensable authority ; how a mob, an insurrection or a rebellion shall be put down, or in what way a people, deeming themselves oppressed, shall redress their wrongs, vindicate their rights, and secure for themselves such a government as can in their view be most safely entrusted with the care of their interests. Such questions, though vastly important, we have always regarded as not lying within

our sphere, and have consequently left our associates without any responsibility on our part for their course or views on these outside issues, to speak and act for themselves.

Our aim, as associated friends of peace, is specific and well defined. It is simply *to do away the custom of war*, the immemorial, world-wide practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword; a custom that we hold to be utterly unchristian, the master sin and scourge of our race in all ages. It is to supersede this war-system by rational, legal, peaceful means, far more effectual in the long run for every purpose of international justice or safety than war ever has been, or ever can be. Here is our precise and sole province. We seek nothing more or less than to do away entirely this custom, and in its stead introduce among nations such a system of justice, analogous to what is already adopted by every civilized people for individuals and minor communities, as shall regulate their intercourse, and protect their respective rights and interests, without the blind and brutal arbitrament of the sword. All this we believe to be possible; and we proceed to show how it can be done, and ought to be attempted, the methods and means requisite to insure a consummation so devoutly to be wished.

In the prosecution of this work, we find ourselves overtaken at length by a gigantic rebellion, and are asked how we shall deal with it. How *we* shall? It is no part of *our* business as a Peace Society to say what shall be done in such a case. It belongs not to our province, but to that of law and civil government. As peace men, we have on this question only the responsibility, common to the whole community, of deciding how such an offense against society shall be treated. It is a government question, quite distinct from that of peace. Like the Quakers and other peace men, we recognize civil government as an ordinance of God indispensable to the well-being, if not to the very existence, of human society. But what is implied in such government? Clearly a right to enact laws, and put them in execution. If it may *not* do both these, it is in truth no government at all, but a mere name, a shadow and mockery. As believers in civil government, we must of course concede its right to perform these functions so palpably essential to its efficiency and very existence.

Let us now apply all this to the case in hand. We have on our statute-book certain laws against rebellion; these laws have been openly, most defiantly, and with almost every conceivable aggravation, violated by vast multitudes; and at length the government has set itself at work in earnest to put these laws in execution, and bring the offenders to submis-

sion and condign punishment. Is this wrong? If so, then all government must be wrong. If a government may not execute its own laws against those who persistently break them, we contradict and stultify ourselves by calling it a government. Its whole business is to make and enforce law; and if it may *not* do this, it has no right to do anything that deserves the name of government. Have our rulers, in dealing with this rebellion, attempted anything more than to put our laws in force against those who have violated them? Have they not a right, are they not bound by the most solemn obligations, to do this? Were they not put in office for this very purpose? Can they, without gross dereliction of duty, fail to do so? If they refuse, would they not be justly liable to censure, impeachment and deposition? Thus are we reduced to the dilemma of either denying all government, or admitting its right to execute its laws in this case as in all others, against rebels just as it does against any other class of felons.

Now, we look upon the suppression of our rebellion as the same thing in principle as the process of bringing to justice burglars, incendiaries, or any other offenders against society. It is, in each case alike, government exercising its legitimate authority, and discharging a prescribed and imperative duty by a due enforcement of law against its violators. We may, if we choose, call this war; but if we do, we must, if consistent, stigmatize in like manner every execution of law against any class of offenders as an act of war, and thus strip government of all its rights and powers. This will be carrying out the theory of no-government with a witness; a theory discarded from the start, we believe, by all the associated friends of peace, and against which are aimed nearly all the objections to our cause. Everybody views government as a social necessity; and if we ignore its existence, or deny its right to perform its legitimate, indispensable functions, and say it shall not put in force its own laws even against the worst of all offenders, we cannot expect, as we should not deserve, the support of good men. We never committed ourselves to any such theory of peace, but only to such principles and measures as are entirely compatible with the legitimate operations of civil government.

These views we hold in perfect consistency, as we conceive, with the doctrine of all war contrary to the gospel, and are glad to find them, after manifold misconceptions on every side, gradually coming at length to be widely accepted as just and true by the most intelligent friends of our cause. It is the only logic that ever satisfied ourselves on this vexed question. It is the faith, the precise mode of reasoning, with which we

girded ourselves many years ago for the hard but blessed work of peace ; and all we have experienced in the terrible baptism of fire and blood through which we have been passing in this slave-mongering rebellion, this matchless crime of the age, if not of all ages, has served only to confirm us more and more in the ground we took from the start.

Our course, then, has all along been uniform and consistent. We stand to-day just where we did twenty or thirty years ago when we stereotyped our principles and policy. We are not aware of any essential change. We regarded then, as we do now, the whole war-system as contrary to the gospel, the brand of Cain upon its forehead, a wrong, unchristian way of gaining even a good end. We believed then, precisely as we do to-day, that civil government is an ordinance of God for the good of society, and has the right at discretion to enact laws, and to use all the force necessary to put them in execution. These two positions, Peace and Government, we still believe to be entirely consistent with each other, and we remain loyal to them both.

In carrying out these views, we have from the very dawn of this gigantic rebellion, used every argument and influence in our power to dissuade the parties from an appeal to the sword in any event, have insisted that they were bound by obligations the most sacred to employ in the settlement of their disputes only the rational, peaceful means jointly provided in their common laws for the purpose, and have importuned them by every motive of duty and interest, of patriotism, humanity and religion, never to imbrue their hands in each others' blood. It was all in vain. Our rebels, conscious of demanding what the laws would not grant, rushed madly to arms instead of legal means, and thus left to our government only the alternative of either abdicating its powers, or of crushing the rebellion. We said it was no part of our business as peace men to deal with such crimes or questions ; but, believing in civil government as ordained of God for the punishment of evil-doers, we deemed it both the right and the duty of rulers, as the constituted guardians of society, of its permanent order and prosperity, to execute the laws, if they can, against rebels just as against any other class of wrong-doers, and to use in doing so as much force as they may find requisite for the purpose. How far they may err in their manner of doing this, we will not say ; but their right to do it at discretion, we cannot deny without annihilating all government, introducing the reign of universal anarchy, and hazard turning society, sooner or later, into a social pandemonium.

WHY THE CAUSE OF PEACE NOT MORE SUCCESSFUL.

There are many reasons for this ; but we will now mention only a single one—the *lack of proper and adequate means*. These are always indispensable ; and no excellence of our object or our principles can ever supply the want of them. Such means are just as necessary in this case as in any other ; and as well might we expect the world to be christianized without having the gospel sent to its benighted myriads, as to hope for the prevalence of peace without the use of such means as God has appointed for the purpose.

Now, such means have never been adequately used in this or any other country. Some fifty years ago the cause of peace was started upon a meagre scale by a few friends of humanity on both sides of the Atlantic ; and in all this half-century how little, reckoning from the amount of funds expended, has been done to achieve the grandest and most difficult reform the world ever saw or conceived ? Not an average of ten thousand dollars, if more than five thousand, a year for all Christendom ; little, if any, more than one quarter of a million in half a century ; scarce a tithe as much for the cause of peace in fifty years, as Christendom wastes upon her war system every day, or we ourselves in crushing our present rebellion !

Surely, then, we need go no further to learn *why* the cause of peace has been no more successful. Here alone is reason enough. The requisite means have not yet been used ; and no man, with a particle of common sense, could expect in the case more than the merest modicum of success. It would be demanding bricks without straw, ends without means. As well imagine that a dozen laborers, at the cost of only a single thousand dollars, could bore through Hoosac Mountain a tunnel four miles long, or clear away the vast virgin forests of a whole continent as the recreation of a summer's afternoon. On any other subject the demand made upon our cause, would be scouted as most palpably absurd. Just try the war-system by a like test. Does it attempt to gain its ends without means ? How far would five or ten thousand dollars a year go towards securing its objects ? Yet if peace does not accomplish more with one dollar's expenditure than the war-system does with half a million, it is flippantly denounced as a failure !

We ask for this cause no exemption from the strictest scrutiny of its claims, but only a fair test and trial of its merits. Let the means, confessedly requisite for success, be used upon a scale somewhat com-

mensurate with the magnitude and difficulty of the work to be done ; let the gospel, wherever known, be properly, persistently and habitually applied in every nook and corner of Christendom, from every pulpit, by every press, around every fireside, in every seminary of learning from the highest to the lowest, until public opinion on this subject shall everywhere be recast in the mould of its pacific principles ; let there thus be spent in this great work of peace, not the ten or fifteen hundred million dollars now worse than wasted throughout Christendom in support of her war-system, but only a thousandth part of this sum, barely a million and a half a year ; and we have no doubt that in half a century a wise use in Christian means of these mere crumbs from the table of the war-ogre, would suffice, with God's promised blessing, to ring the death-knell of the monster so long drunk with a world's tears and blood.

We shrink from no fair test. Bring the question home to ourselves in the strange and terrible experience through which we are now passing, and we will cheerfully stake on the result the claims of our cause upon the verdict of common sense even in this seemingly exceptional case. A little, only a very little, has yet been done here in the cause of peace, an average of scarce three thousand dollars a year in half a century ; and yet even this pittance, spent almost entirely in the Free States, chiefly in New England, has sufficed under God to create among us a public opinion that would, if diffused in season over the South, have rendered this rebellion morally impossible. Had Christians as a body, East and West, North and South, responded fifty years ago as they ought to the claims of this cause, and done their whole duty on the subject from that time to this by using aright the mean's of God's appointment to educate our entire people in the principles and habits of peace, this fearful avalanche of crime and woe could never have swept in fire, blood and devastation over our land. One half-day's cost and waste to both parties in this suicidal contest, if spent in season and aright in the cause of peace, would in all probability have averted it all. Such is the economy of peace. When will nations learn it, or Christians themselves be ready to inculcate it ?

A MISSIONARY'S TESTIMONY ON PEACE.—From a letter of Titus Coan to two Quaker preachers visiting the Sandwich Islands, we copy a brief extract :—"You know my views and feelings on war. The present awful struggle in our dear country I recognize as a fact ; and I see in it the hand and the gleaming sword of Jehovah. The cup of our country's sins was full. The crimes of the nation went up to heaven. Justice could no longer forbear. God's hand has taken 'hold on vengeance,'

and his wrath burns 'like devouring fire,' so that the whole land smokes and trembles under his indignation. These are *facts*. As to what the President and Government should do with such a bold, wicked and heaven-defying rebellion, I will not say; but this I *will say*, as 'one of the deepest convictions of my soul, that war, with its bleeding horrors, will never cease until *the Church testifies against it by doctrine and practice*. Had all professing Christians taken truly Christian ground on the subject in all ages, war would have ceased by necessity in all Christendom centuries ago. Had ministers and churches in the States, North and South, taught and practised as they should have done during the last fifty years, this direful rebellion would have been impossible.

"You see and understand this, and so do many others; but the multitude even of ministers of the Gospel, and of professed disciples of our meek and peaceful Saviour, do not and cannot see this truth. Their eyes are closed to this light; and this awful thunderbolt of Jehovah which has fallen upon the land with its blazing lightning, only stuns their hearing, and blinds them the more. While *we* reason that war is unchristian and wicked, and that Christ's disciples should set themselves as a moral rampart against it, *they* reason exactly opposite, *i. e.*, that war is necessary and unavoidable, and that nations and Christians should expect it, and prepare for it; and that all who refuse to teach and to do so, are stupid and unpatriotic fanatics. And this war is to them a *sure proof* of the soundness of their reasoning, and the correctness of their position!

"Peace men cannot be heard just now. 'The righteous shall keep silence in that day, for it is an evil day.' You suffer for conscience sake; but let me say, 'in your patience possess ye your souls.' This storm will pass; and the glorious sun will again break forth from the murky and sanguinary clouds which obscure it, and shine upon this sin-cursed world. Truth *will* shine forth as the light, and love and peace will outlive wars and malice. 'The God of Peace,' and 'the Prince of Peace,' will yet reign in the hearts of men; 'the Gospel of Peace' shall be proclaimed by the 'messengers of peace' to all nations; and these joyful tidings, this glad message, 'Peace on earth, good will to men,' shall at length have their full, promised effect."

MAGNITUDE OF OPERATIONS IN SUPPRESSING OUR REBELLION.—The greatest capture of men mentioned in modern history, was made by Bonaparte at Austerlitz, where he took 20,000 men; Gen. Grant took nearly 31,000 at Vicksburg. Napoleon's spoils at Austerlitz was 150 pieces of artillery; Gen. Grant's at Vicksburg is stated to be 218, embracing 9 siege guns and 209 pieces of light artillery.

Such facts are only fair indices of the gigantic crime perpetrated by our rebels; a crime hardly paralleled in the world's history. Is it wrong to restrain and punish such a crime? If so, must it not, *a fortiori*, be wrong to

punish an ordinary offender against the laws of society or of God? If rebels, as wholesale violators of all law, are to be punished or restrained, how can they be except by the use of such an amount of physical force as they cannot resist? Is there any other conceivable way to execute law, and uphold government?

THE FEEDERS OF WAR:

OR THE INTERESTS ENLISTED IN ITS CONTINUANCE.

A war, once started, necessarily gathers around it a multitude of selfish, sinister interests pleading loudly for its prolongation. It was so with our Revolution of 1775; and bitterly did Washington, Franklin and other patriots of that day complain of its having been continued from such motives nearly twice as long as it need to have been. How far such motives may prolong our present death-struggle with slave-mongering rebels, will hereafter be seen much more fully than it can be now; but already we know full well that avarice, ambition and kindred passions and interests, very like vultures and hyenas hovering or howling around a field of battle, are eagerly waiting to gorge themselves on the results of this suicidal conflict. Nor can we wonder; for war in every form is the devil's grand carnival of vice and crime, of sin and misery, a sort of temporary hell let loose upon earth.

It would be a well-nigh endless task to collect from our rebellion the facts which go to illustrate this sweeping statement. They are all around us thick as leaves of autumn, or snow-flakes in a winter storm. We see them among ourselves, and hear them reported in superabundance from rebeldom. They are inseparable from such a conflict, and most strikingly show its suicidal folly and guilt. As a specimen in the Free States, a leading journal in the capital of Indiana says, "murders, assassinations, slung-shot assaults, robberies, burglaries, thieving and pick-pocketing, sprinkled with some arson, are the regular amusements now of nights in Indianapolis." A strong case, we grant, and we are glad to regard it as an exception to the general rule at the North; but we saw, in the terrible culmination of such evils in the New York riot last August, to what results this war, like every other, inevitably tends in any and every community.

What, then, are we to expect in rebeldom? Let the rebel press tell us. "The rowdyism," said the *Richmond Examiner*, so long ago as Feb., 1862, "now rife in this city has become intolerable, and demands

immediate suppression with the high hand. Acts of brutal violence, vulgar ruffianism and gross indecency are of momentary occurrence in our streets. The most orderly citizen and the most delicate lady are exposed to outrage and insult. No man's life even is secure in broad daylight on our most public thoroughfares. To surround, knock down, bruise and maltreat, has become the pastime of the ruffians that throng our pavements. The evil must be suppressed, or else society must surrender its authority to brute violence. We must disorganize the social system, resolve ourselves into savages, and prepare for protection by the most effective weapons of self-defence, or else we must assert the power of the law upon the persons of the ruffians and vagabonds that infest our streets and alleys. The time has arrived for summary reform, or else ruffianism, theft, arson, drunkenness and murder will soon claim the city as their exclusive province."

Other papers near the same time record "flagrant instances of riot, violence and disorder; quiet, respectable citizens in open day assaulted and knocked down in some of the most frequented streets; the city infested with gangs of ruffians, and the shameful practices of drunkards, libertines and prostitutes that we contemplate with pain and regret. The first open manifestation of the new order of things in Richmond was developed at the theatre; and it shortly culminated in the burning of that building. The intervening period was filled up by villainies of the minor sort, until finally, on Monday night, we were entertained with a spectacle at Metropolitan Hall, which, for open violation of decency and law, is entirely without a parallel in this community. The row of course occurred in the gallery, where a number of brazen women were surrounded by a crowd of drunken, unprincipled men. Oaths and curses, shrieks and yells, intermingled with the rapid discharge of deadly weapons, the sudden panic and flight of the throng in other portions of the house, made up a picture of rowdyism which could not be looked upon without a shudder."

Such are the revelries of vice and crime incidental more or less to all war; and along with these mark the wide prevalence of a reckless, remorseless greed for gain. The same *Examiner* reports "an almost universal rage in the South of the vile lusts of avarice and extortion, in which native Southern merchants have outdone Yankees and Jews, and have not only defiled themselves but inflicted a burning disgrace upon the nation, prostituted a noble war to the most infamous purposes, and blackened their country in the eyes of the world. The whole South stinks with the lust of extortion. The extent to which it prevails in this city is

enormous and shameless. Trade is reduced to a devilish art to make money out of the distresses of humanity; and, that hypocrisy may be added to other diabolical accomplishments, the extortioners of Richmond take the upper seats in church, talk patriotism, and give into the contribution boxes small pinches from enormous gains, dandy preachers and hospital matrons taking these filthy gifts of the plunderers of society as tokens of the liberality and patriotism of the donors." The rebel Congress has been obliged to protect government and society by very stringent legislation against these evils as no longer tolerable.

But in how many strictly legal ways does this war, like every other, enlist the cupidities of men in its continuance. We find it stated, as one among a thousand instances of enormous gains by what are deemed fair and legitimate means, that one manufacturing company "at Lawrence, Mass., sold last year goods to the amount of nearly four millions of dollars, and their profits were \$840,000, or about fifty per cent. on their capital." A profit of fifty per cent. in a single year! What an appeal to shrewd, respectable cupidity! Will not owners of stock in such a company be sure to desire a further continuance of the war? Nor is this a solitary case; for while industry may be generally paralyzed, the land is sprinkled over with sporadic cases of such "good luck" as this from the war to provoke a gambler's interest in its continuance.

Take some instances still more common, but not quite so reputable. In a car passing into the city of New York was a well-dressed gentleman, talking across the car to a friend: "Well, I hope the war may last six months longer. If it does, I shall have made enough to retire from business. In the last six months I've made a hundred thousand dollars—six months more, and I shall have enough." A lady, so near the speaker as necessarily to hear his remark, tapped him on the shoulder, and said, 'Sir, I had two sons—one of them killed at the battle of Fredericksburg, the other at the battle of Murfreesboro'.' She was silent a moment, and then overcome by her indignation, she suddenly slapped the speculator, first on one cheek, then on the other, and, before the fellow could say a word, the passengers sitting near, who had witnessed the whole affair, seized and pushed him hurriedly out of the car, as one not fit to ride with decent people." A rebuke well merited, but seldom meted out to the countless ways in which avarice in a time of war coins wealth out of a people's calamities, tears and blood. A year ago, said a New York paper, a stock-broker began business on a capital of a thousand dollars, and has already realized, by an extraordinary run of luck, a fortune of a million and a half! A few days ago he settled on

his *wife*—where of course the law cannot reach it in case of reverses—the snug sum of \$850,000! Must not that man and his family rejoice in the war? Another broker, who began a year ago with small means, is now worth over a million of dollars. It is rumored that these men have “official relations” that keep them posted on war news in advance of the associated press! It is thus that either fortune or fraud plays into the hands of these devotees of mammon, whose palaces rise like fairy exhalations from the general miseries of the people. The plague or the cholera, that empties a city into the grave-yard, may enrich a few scores of physicians and sextons. The battle of Waterloo that clothed a continent in weeds, is said to have added, by his shrewd and lucky management, more than twenty million dollars to the wealth of a London banker, Nathan Rothschilds, one of the great Money Kings. Alas! in how many ways are the selfish interests and bad passions of men enlisted in getting up and continuing war!

WHAT ARE GUERRILLAS?—They are claimed by the rebel government as a part of their forces, but are in fact a species of Southern outlaws, attracted and attached to the rebellion very much as thieves, pickpockets and kindred knaves gather around a riot or large conflagration. The leader, like Morgan or Quantrell, is often, if not uniformly, enlisted intelligently in the rebellion; but the gangs he leads on to deeds of plunder and blood, of robbery and murder, are nearly all reckless, desperate adventurers, bent solely on their own gratification. Morgan’s followers “were not soldiers, and by no means deserve the name. They were horse-thieves, robbers and murderers. It is not their object to fight; to this they freely own; they had no idea that their raid would affect the war question one iota. They came for plunder and retaliation, and for nothing else. His infamous band was made up largely of Southern sharpers and reckless outlaws.”

What an infliction upon a community to have such desperadoes prowling around, day and night, with the incendiary’s torch in one hand, and the brigand’s rifle, revolver and bowie-knife in the other! Yet such is the avalanche of evils poured by this rebellion upon one-third of our land. All over the South, and all along its borders, every idler and knave, every thief, cut-throat and desperado is of course its friend and ally.

REBEL WASTE OF LIFE.—The partial, barren success of the rebels at Chickamauga was won at a fearful sacrifice. No less than 17,999 rebels were said to have been buried there! Very likely an exaggeration; and yet the reality must have been a horrible waste of life.

CHRISTIANS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

At an early period of modern Peace Societies, I met with the following extract from Rev. C. S. Henry: "The friends of peace are aiming at an immense revolution. . . . They wish to put an end to a custom which has existed from the beginning of the world; a custom which has its root in the strongest human passions, is wrought into the frame-work of every government, confirmed by centuries of habit, and upheld by many prejudices of interest and false associations."

Such an utterance, so abrupt and bold, must have appeared to superficial minds either burlesque or bombast. What! A few weak, humble individuals going forth as lambs in the midst of wolves to accomplish such a revolution? Preposterous! Even the originators of Peace Societies, entering on their work, as the primitive disciples did, without purse or scrip, did not apprehend the magnitude of their enterprise, and were ready at incipient success to return thanks to their Master, "saying, Lord, even the devils are subject unto us through thy name," and to apply to their success his prophetic assurance, "I saw Satan fall as lightning from heaven." Alas! "Leviathan is not so tamed." The hoary demon of War is not so easily cast out; and every year has served to reveal more and more the magnitude of the work in which the friends of peace are embarked.

Let us, then, look its difficulties full in the face. They are indeed great, but by no means insurmountable. They cannot be overcome in a day, nor fully in a single age, or a whole century, but can be in time, and will be, with God's blessing on a right use of the means he has appointed for the purpose. We must gird ourselves to the work in earnest, with a full view of its magnitude and manifold difficulties. We must, first of all, ascertain the precise evil to be cured. Whence arose the custom of war? On what principles does it rest, and by what arguments, interests and prejudices is it upheld and fortified?

Among these we find, prominent and powerful, the principle and passion of *Nationality*. Here is the strongest entrenchment of the war-system. Remove or rightly control this, and the work of peace becomes comparatively easy. The idea of nationality appears inseparable from the system of war. In war, nationality found its origin, and by war has it been chiefly cherished, and made a god of popular idolatry. In war it seeks its support, its enlargement and defence. From war it hopes for justice, for power, and glory. Even constitutional governments have been careful to provide, in their organic laws, ample scope for the war-system. Thus is the war-system made integral to nationality.

Nor is our greatest obstacle to the advancement of the cause of peace found here; far from it. As the gospel is the well-known reliance, the text-book of Peace, the abettors of war have seized upon it, and perverted it to aid their cause. This perversion, introduced as early as the fourth

century, has made the clergy, from that time to the present, the sheet-anchor of the war-system. It has necessarily depended on the sanction of the priesthood for its defence and support. For a practice so absurd and horrid as that of war, could be sustained in the midst of civilization by no earthly motives. Hence the necessity of employing religious sanctions, superhuman authority, or motives from the unseen world. Thus, Lord Bacon says, "as there is no umpire between nations, by war nations put themselves on the judgment of God. . . . War is the highest trial of right." And the remark is not uncommon among Christians: 'war is the scourge of God — God's method of settling national differences.'

Now, if such sentiments are cherished in time of peace, what may we expect in time of war? If these things are done in the green tree, what will be done in the dry? Just what we now see. The leaders of the rebellion, as an incipient step, were careful to secure the favor and influence of the leading clergy of the South, before they dared to strike the first blow. And in the North, not merely legitimate civil government, but the military also, has received the patronage of the clergy. Not only government in its resistance to the rebellion in its civil sphere, but the military, after having shown its characteristic assumptions of collateral and even sovereign power by conceding to rebels the courtesies of legalized, reputable warfare, has been, and still is, lauded by the clergy with honors almost divine.

Take, as an example, the language of a New-England divine, in a sermon after the first Bull Run battle, language extensively copied into our religious papers: "The true loyalty is never reached until the laws and the nation are made to appear sacred, and something more than human. . . . Without shedding of blood there is no such grace prepared. . . . There must be tears in the house, as well as blood in the field; the fathers and mothers, the wives and dear children entering into the woe, to fight in hard bewailings. . . . Religion must send up her cry out of houses, temples and closets, where faith groans heavily before God. In these and all such terrible throes, the true loyalty is born. Then the nation emerges at last a true nation, consecrated and made great in our eyes by the sacrifice it has cost. There is no way ever but just this to make a nation great and holy in the feelings of its people; and it is never raised in this manner until it has fought up some great man or hero in whom its struggles and victories are fitly personated. . . . He must be long enough and deep enough in the struggle to be crowned as the soldier of Providence. Most deeply do we want such a man! . . . True, these Washingtons are expensive. They cost, how much sacrifice, how many thousands of lives, what rivers of treasure and blood and money! And yet they are cheap! Give us grace, O thou God of the land, only to deserve and patiently wait, and *sturdily fight*, for the establishment of our glorious nationality. . . . Have we husbands? Have we sons? Put the armor on them, and the holy panoply of our prayers, and send them to the field. Anything, that we may have a nation and a government, and have the true loyalty burnt into the hearts of our children. . . . Teach us, O God, to be worthy of

these great hopes. Make us equal to the glorious calling of thy providence ! Be thou, God of hosts, in our armies."

Now, could any priest of Mars in the bloodiest days of pagan Rome, have said more than this ? And such sentiments do we often meet from similar sources ; nor can we much wonder at them in time of war, if we remember the authority and prerogatives which have been accredited to civil governments by learned theologians in their dissertations put forth in the calm of peace. They have held that governments are ordained of God ; that they are clothed with divine authority, allied to the fixed and eternal, and thus hold a power over men's consciences ; that the government or state, considered as an abstraction, is possessed of inherent divine life and power, above, beyond and distinct from the life and power of the people who compose the state, insomuch that the dictation of the state, or its government, is to be obeyed, not merely nor mainly from a regard to public good, on the ground of expediency, nor yet from enlightened self-interest, but for conscience sake.

Here, then, is one of the most inveterate difficulties in the way of this great Christian reform. While attempting to ferret out the war-system, and dislodge it from its moral strong-holds, we find ourselves confronted by what claims to be divine authority. We had made up our minds to brook popular political obloquy, still causing the gentle peace doctrines to drop as the rain, and distil as the dew, until the public mind, saturated with the sentiment, should make it felt through all the ramifications of government. But when we find thus arrayed against us our friend, our guide, with whom we have been wont, as we do still, to take sweet counsel, and walk to the house of God in company, what shall we say ? Must we give up the enterprise, and virtually say the gospel is inadequate to the abolition of war ? Shall we scout, as a lie and a bitter mockery, the prophet's vision of an age when nations shall actually beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more ? Are such hopes, such promises, only dreams of delusion ? Is there no power in the gospel, or in the God of peace, to bring about a consummation so grand and glorious ? Shall we set aside the last injunction and assurance of the risen Saviour ? "*All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.* Go, ye, therefore, and teach *all nations*, teaching them to observe *all things whatsoever I command you* ; and lo I am with you even unto the end of the world." May the church and the clergy in their teaching set aside the Saviour's denunciation of that Aristotelian doctrine so rife with the kings and princes of the Gentiles in his day, by which they "*exercised lordship over them,*" and so give a sanction to the same error of superhuman claims ? No, no ! till heaven and earth pass, one jot or one tittle of the Saviour's teachings shall not fail. It is high time to review this doctrine of "*human government clothed with divine sanction,*" and authorized to bind men's consciences to its behests. By its fruits it is known.

It may be made a serious question whether the sanction of war thus given by the so-called Christian priesthood, has not been the occasion of the shed-

ding of more innocent blood even than such sanction of the pagan priesthood in all past ages. While we find in Scripture numerous injunctions of meekness, long-suffering, and forbearance respecting allegiance to civil institutions, and while we find obedience to moral law made imperative, I think we no where find civil authority, as such, clothed with divine sanction. The disciple, while observing wholesome allegiance to human governments, should be as his Master, not looking to such governments to create moral law, or impart moral character to a given course of conduct at pleasure. They are to hold up God's law in all its inflexibility, as the true rule and test of conduct, alike in public and in private affairs.

Nor is it presumption to scan the constituency of governments down to individuality, and find its authority composed of a combination of individual authority, so that its interests, its honors, its responsibilities, all become only an aggregate of those individuals. With such a view, the disciples of Christ are no longer pupils, but teachers of governments, through their elements in individuality. Our own government affords admirable facilities for this. Our internal affairs being committed to what we term state government, while those pertaining to foreign relations are committed to the national government, the distinct character of each may be seen, and the merit or demerit of their course be held up before the glass of the moral law to the view of their constituents for their approval or condemnation. If a similar line of discrimination could be drawn between those departments of the governments of the earth charged with those two classes of duties, it might perhaps appear that the department having charge of international affairs, has been, and is still, guilty of more spoliation, more robbery, and more shedding of innocent blood, an hundred times over, than all other human agencies combined.

Now, while the church and the clergy defend governments in such a course, Peace Societies must be comparatively powerless. They are supposed to hold in their hands the motive power that alone can give success to our cause; on them, therefore, does its triumph or its defeat really depend. To this high responsibility will God and future ages hold them. Will they prove themselves true or recreant to this sacred trust? Will they see that the gospel is so applied as to make sure of doing away this huge and terrible evil of war, the world's greatest crime and curse for six thousand years? On this point rests the destiny of our cause. Its success or its failure depends on those who are entrusted with the gospel dispensation. Is it not more than time that the war-system should be discarded and consigned to eternal reprobation?

The world is already far in advance of its war maxims. In regard to the useful and the finer arts, the genius of our age is competition for mutual improvement throughout the world; and why should the laws of mutual destruction be longer retained? Why should the gospel of peace be longer desecrated to such an end? Those who have the gospel in charge must answer it.

B.

Middlebury, Vt., Dec. 22, 1863.

PRIZES, OR LEGAL PLUNDER.—From the late Report (Dec. 1863) of the Navy Department we cull the sum total of these prizes as ascertained and awarded up to that date :—

	No. of cases.	Gross am't. of sales.	Costs and expenses.	Net am't. for distribution.	Percentage of cost and expenses.
Boston,	13	\$864,322	\$25,188	\$839,133	3
New York, . . .	89	2,218,263	281,162	1,937,735	12 1-2
Philadelphia, . .	57	1,859,434	149,806	1,670,512	8
Key West, . . .	71	1,432,952	133,291	1,304,053	9
Washington, . .	44	72,091	11,986	60,909	16 1-2
Illinois,	11	91,619	5,993	85,625	6
Total,	285	\$6,538,683	\$607,407	\$5,897,970	

Such an abstract is a study for the moralist, the Christian and the patriot. With the present laws and usages of even Christendom, we see not how this great and grievous wrong can well be avoided ; but its existence is a sad commentary on the still lingering vandalism of the age. How much violence and outrage, plunder, bloodshed and suffering must be represented in this little abstract ! More than \$6,000,000 in all ; and this perhaps only a fraction of the sum total sacrificed. And what must be the moral effect of such legalized bucaneerism ?

HOW WAR DEGENERATES THE HUMAN RACE.—This custom leaves its accursed brand not only upon its immediate victims, but upon entire communities. Under its malign influence, our race itself is surely, if not rapidly, degenerating even under all the recuperative power of Christianity in the very centre of Christendom.

Dr. Bell, an English physiologist, says that if the curse of war be long entailed on a nation, its physical energies may suffer by the loss of its finest population to such a degree that the succeeding generation will fall short of its former stature. Such was the case in France in 1826, when out of 1,033,432 young men drafted to serve in the army, 380,213 were sent back because they fell short of four feet ten inches, the standard for height in the French army. Only four feet ten inches required for the army, and yet two-fifths of the male population falling below even this small stature ! If the war-system continues this degeneracy, how long ere it may dwarf all Christendom into pigmies, and people it at last with Gulliver's Lilliputians ?

STATISTICS OF HUMAN LIFE.—The population of Europe is 272 millions ; Asia, 720 millions ; Africa, 89 millions ; America, 200 millions ; Polynesia, 2 millions ; total, 1,283 millions. The number of deaths in the world is about 32 millions yearly, which gives 87,671 every day, and 3,553 every hour.

REBEL TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

TREATMENT OF SURGEONS.—Dr. A. W. Whitney, from Massachusetts, was captured while attending at the Fitchhugh Hospital, Falmouth, Va., and despite the entreaties of the wounded under his care, was dragged away to Richmond. Here he and his companions had to stand in the street for hours, under a broiling mid-day sun. The sick and wounded were then conveyed to Libby Prison in carts, jolting and jostling them in a fearful manner. Dr. Whitney remonstrated against the inhumanity of the act; and for this he was arrested by a man calling himself the Chief of Police, and taken before the Provost Marshal. Here he was stripped of his money, \$360, and of his sword and sash, then sent to the Libby Prison. The Doctor was told when his money was taken from him, that when he left the prison, his money would be returned to him in kind. The fulfilment of this promise is yet to be realized. The room in which he was confined (the one allotted to officers) was in the third story, and already contained some two hundred. It was 100 feet in length, and 43 in width. Here the meals of the officers were cooked, one stove being allowed for the entire number. There were bunks in it, built of bare wood, for only one half of the inmates. The remainder were obliged to lie upon the floor. One blanket was allowed to each officer, that is, if any were brought by them to the prison. More than this number fell into the hands of the rebel authorities. Those who were so unfortunate as to come unprovided, were obliged to make out the best they could. The outhouse provided for the officers directly communicated with this room, and the condition of it (only eight feet square) was most disgusting and filthy.

In the matter of rations, the prisoners began to notice a deficiency after the middle of the month. Then the article of fresh beef was missing, making its appearance only about once every four days. One pound of corn bread was furnished them each day, with the usual accompaniment of one sweet potato. They were treated with the greatest contempt on every occasion—dogs could hardly be treated worse.

Surgeon John T. Luck, a citizen of Iowa, was taken prisoner at Morris Island, on the 18th of July, while attending to our wounded on the battle field. He was taken to Charleston, and after twenty-four hours residence there, he was removed to Columbus, where he was confined for three months. He had to fetch water from the city daily, and met with many Union men. There were also many ladies of Union sentiments. The men who were conscripted were of all classes, from sixteen to sixty, and their appearance was most forlorn. Exchanged, he returned by way of Wilmington, N. C. Arriving at the Libby Prison on the morning of Nov. 14, he found one thousand officers confined in seven rooms, 40 by 100 feet each, without blankets or bedding, left to shift for themselves as best they might. There were no fires in the building, and half the windows were without glass. The best rations they ever had, consisted of three-quarters of a pound of wheat bread, one-fourth of a pound of fresh beef, and two ounces of rice. Subsequently corn bread was substituted for wheat bread, and quite often they had no rice or beef, and but two or three small sweet potatoes. For several days during the last few weeks of his imprisonment, they received nothing but three-fourths of a pound of corn bread for twenty-four hours. The men confined at Belle-Island were brought over to the Libby Prison absolutely starving, and others, as they passed on their way to receive some food, would seize any scraps thrown out to them like so many hungry wolves.

It should be borne in mind, that such treatment of our Surgeons was a-

ter our Government had proposed to consider all Surgeons and Chaplains as non-combatants, and consequently not liable to capture. To this humane proposal the rebel leaders responded by such deeds as are recorded above.

STATEMENT OF OUR RELEASED SURGEONS.—We enjoyed for several months daily access to the hospitals where the sick and wounded among our Union soldiers received treatment. As a result of our observations, we hereby declare our belief that since the battle of Chickamauga, the number of deaths per diem has averaged full fifty. The prevailing diseases are diarrhea, dysentery and typhoid pneumonia. Of late the percentage of deaths has greatly increased; the result of causes that have been long at work, such as insufficient food, clothing and shelter, combined with that depression of spirits brought on so often by long confinement. It may seem almost incredible, when we affirm of our personal knowledge, that in the three hospitals for Union soldiers, the average mortality is nearly forty per day, and upon the most reliable testimony we are forced to believe that the deaths in the tobacco factories and upon the island will raise the total mortality among all the Union prisoners to fifty per day, or 1500 monthly.

The extremely reduced condition of those brought from the island argues that hundreds quite sick are left behind, who with us would be considered fit subjects for hospital treatment. Such, too, is the fact as invariable stated by scores we have conversed with from that camp. The same to a degree holds true of the prisoners in the city. It would be a reasonable estimate to put the number who are fit subjects for hospitals, but who are refused admittance, at five hundred. A thousand are already under treatment in the three hospitals, and the Confederate Surgeons themselves say the number of patients is only limited by the small accommodations provided. Thus we have over ten per cent. of the whole number of prisoners held, classed as sick men who need the most assiduous and skillful attention. Yet in the essential matter of rations they are receiving nothing but corn bread and sweet potatoes. Meat is no longer furnished to any class of prisoners except to the few officers in the Libby Hospital, and all sick or well officers or privates are now furnished with a very poor article of corn-bread in place of wheat bread. This is very unsuitable diet for hospital patients prostrated with diarrhea, dysentery, and fever, to say nothing of the balance.

Startling instances of individual suffering and horrid pictures of death from protracted sickness and semi-starvation, we have had thrust upon our attention. The first demand of the poor creatures from the island, was always for something to eat. Self-respect gone, hope and ambition gone, half clad and covered with vermin and filth, many of them too often beyond all reach of medical skill. In one instance, the ambulance brought sixteen to the hospital, and during the night seven of them died. Again, eighteen were brought, and eleven of them died in 24 hours. At another time fourteen were admitted, and in a single day ten of them died. Judging from what we have ourselves seen and do know, we do not hesitate to say, that under a treatment of systematic abuse, neglect and semi-starvation, the number who are becoming permanently broken down in their constitutions, must be reckoned by thousands. We leave it for others to say what is demanded by this state of things.

The Confederate daily papers in general terms acknowledge the truth of all we have affirmed, but usually close their abusive editorials by declaring that even such treatment is better than the invading Yankees deserve. *The Examiner*, in a recent article, begrudged even the little food the prisoners did receive, and the boxes sent to us from home, and closed by eulogizing the system of semi-starvation and exposure, as well calculated to dispose of us! All this is true, and yet cold weather has hardly commenced.

We are horrified when we picture the wholesale misery and death that will come with the biting frosts of winter. Recently several hundred prisoners per day were being removed to Danville. In two instances we were standing in view of them as their ranks filed past. It was a sad sight to see the attenuated features and pallid faces of men a few months since robust and in vigorous health. Numbers were without health, numbers were without shoes, nearly all without blankets or overcoats, and not a man did we see who was well and fully clad.

Such was the official statement made Nov. 27, 1863, to our Government; and the effects of such barbarous treatment upon those who survived it, have been reported by eye-witnesses, in narratives that make one's blood curdle. Such are the pets and prototypes of European aristocrats!

REBEL TREATMENT OF COLORED TROOPS.—The employment of negroes by our Government as soldiers, was the signal for the rebels to threaten in December, 1862, either slavery or death to all taken in arms, and death to their officers. This threat, though partly evaded or concealed by leaving its execution to the rebel States instead of the Confederacy, has never been recalled, but has in all probability been executed to an extent, and in ways that would shock the civilized world.

Take a few cases reported long ago:—"At Galveston, Texas, the free black servants of white officers from the North, were sold into slavery immediately upon the surrender of the national forces. Near Murfreesboro twenty black teamsters in the employ of the government, were captured by the rebels, tied to the nearest trees, flogged and shot. Near Lake Providence, Louisiana, a large number of negroes, also taken from the government employ, were captured, and either sold into slavery or shot. At Port Hudson, negro pickets who were taken by the rebels, were instantly hanged in plain sight of the national camps. The negroes who led the assault on the rebel works were none of them taken prisoners, but all bayoneted after they were wounded, or had surrendered. At Vicksburg no negroes were found inside the works when the place surrendered; all had been shot. At Milliken's Bend, in the desperate fight which a portion of a negro regiment sustained against a heavily superior rebel force, every prisoner and wounded negro was instantly shot, bayoneted, or hanged, their officers sharing their fate. In a word, the threat of Jefferson Davis's proclamation has been executed in every instance in which the rebels have fought against rebel troops, or in which they have been able to kidnap free black soldiers or otherwise. For almost a year they have flogged, sold into slavery, shot, bayoneted, hanged and burned the black soldiers whom the government calls into its service; and there has been no instance of retaliation for the wrongs they have suffered."

PENSIONS.—The number granted in the month of November, 1863, to invalid soldiers, was 2,095, and to widows, mothers and orphans at the same time, 2,062. What legacies of debt and misery the rebellion is bequeathing to the country!

CHAPTER ON TAXATION.

INCOME TAX IN ENGLAND.—As we are now treading so hard after her in the matter of taxation, we feel curious to learn how she gets the means of meeting her enormous expenses. A small part of it comes from a tax upon income. In 1856, the number of persons assessed on income tax was 256,891. The amount assessed was £4,683,744, or something over \$23,000,000. It is a striking fact, that of this number assessed, 212,610 were charged for incomes of less than £300, or \$1500 per year. There were but 44,281 persons, out of more than a quarter of a million, whose incomes exceeded \$1500 per year. Nearly one-half the whole number had incomes between £100 and £150. We find the following table :—

Classes.	No. in each Class.	Amount of tax.
Under £100 a year	20,916	£63,205
£100 and under £150	118,793	634,632
150 " 200	40,390	424,329
200 " 300	32,511	481,655
300 " 400	14,984	318,177
400 " 500	7,173	200,877
500 " 600	5,414	185,705
600 " 700	3,061	126,641
700 " 800	2,003	96,931
800 " 900	1,703	92,933
900 " 1,000	804	50,161
1,000 " 2,000	5,271	453,245
2,000 " 3,000	1,503	232,548
3,000 " 4,000	781	171,749
4,000 " 5,000	434	129,468
5,000 " 10,000	701	350,074
10,000 " 50,000	445	547,568
50,000 and upwards,	40	23,954
	<hr/> 256,981	<hr/> £4,683,744

Thus forty persons in England have an income of over \$250,000 per year. The amount of income on which duty was charged, was £74,150,136, or about \$370,000,000. The rate per cent. varies with the necessities of the Treasury. In 1853 this rate was 7d. per pound sterling on all over £150 per year. In 1854 this rate was increased to 1s. 2d. and in 1855 to 1s. 4d., on account of the expenses of the Crimean war. This is more than double the rate imposed by our excise law.

INCOME TAX OF OUR OFFICIALS.—It is said the President has to pay on his salary a tax of \$750, and each member of his Cabinet \$225.

OUR CAPACITY FOR TAXATION.—On this pivot chiefly turns the statesmanship of modern times—how much taxation will the people bear? Political writers among us are belaboring this point with much anxiety, and with results more favorable than was expected. The *N. Y. Tribune* says, "the reports thus far of the collectors are astounding, and show an unex-

pected capacity of our people for taxation." Here is the point—how much they will bear. "Instead of \$150,000,000 a year," says another editor, "the present returns indicate a revenue of \$350,000,000, equal even to that of Great Britain. We hear of one stock auctioneer in Boston whose tax for the month of October was \$1200. Now, if the debt of the United States swells to a thousand millions of dollars before the war is closed"—it is pretty sure to be two thousand millions or more—"and the average interest on it is five per cent., the estimated revenue from internal taxes alone would pay the interest on the debt, and leave \$300,000,000 to be applied to the ordinary expenses of the Government, and the extinction of the debt. Should the ordinary expenses of the Government after the war amount to \$100,000,000, (a very low estimate), there will still remain \$200,000,000 yearly to be applied to the payment of the principal of the debt. This sum would extinguish the whole in five years. Even if the revenue amounts to only \$250,000,000, this sum would be sufficient to pay the expenses of the Government, the interest on the debt, and in ten years the debt itself. If the revenue is only \$200,000,000, the same result will be produced in twenty years."

It is thus politicians speculate upon the people's willingness to spend their money in meeting the boundless prodigalities of the war-system. It is a bottomless gulph; and we shall soon find it so to our sorrow. The evil is inseparable from the war-system; and so long as we retain this in its vigor, it will be in vain to hope for permanent or any very serious relief. The first step towards any effective plan for governmental economy, must be to attack this system, and replace it by better, cheaper and surer means of international justice and safety.

COST OF MILITARY SALUTES.—This practice, as wide as the barbarism of war itself, seems to cost in the aggregate a pretty round sum. A foreign journal reckons the average number of blank cartridges fired every day in military and naval salutes throughout the world, at not less than 150,000. Estimating the cost of each discharge at six francs, we have 900,000 francs, or about \$175,000, as the daily expense of these complimentary salutes. This amounts in a year, to more than \$60,000,000. Better of course to spend powder in this way than in shooting off the heads, legs and arms of human beings, the producers of all the wealth in the world; but of what possible use can it all be?

Nor is this all by any means. It would seem as if the *Christian* civilization of this nineteenth century could hardly give itself vent on any special occasion without this senseless waste of powder. The result of a popular election, the inauguration of a new set of officers, even a simple civic celebration, must needs scent and blacken the heavens with this "villainous saltpetre." How far is such a practice removed from savage barbarism?

OUR NATIONAL FINANCES.

Of the Treasurer's recent Report we give a brief abstract of its most interesting points for the year ending June 30, 1863.

Receipts from all sources, \$901,125,674.

Disbursements, 895,796,630.

Balance, \$5,329,044.

Analysis of these.—The receipts were chiefly from loans, all except the following :—

	Estimated.	Actual.
From Customs,	\$68,041,736	69,059,642
From Lands,	88,724	167,617
From Miscellaneous,	2,244,316	3,046,615
From Direct Tax,	11,620,717	1,485,103
From Internal Revenue,	85,450,303	37,640,787
Balance from last year,	13,043,546	13,043,546
Total,	\$180,495,345	124,443,313

The disbursements, estimated and actual, were as follows :—

	Estimated.	Actual.
The Civil Service,	\$32,811,543	23,253,922
Pensions and Indians,	5,982,906	4,216,520
War Department,	747,359,828	599,298,600
Navy Department,	82,177,510	63,211,105
Interest on Debt,	25,014,532	24,729,846
Total gross estimate,	\$893,346,321	714,709,995

Debt—July 1, 1863, is stated at \$1,098,793,181, as the ascertained cost of our rebellion beyond what we have already paid ourselves. This last is reported above at more than \$180,000,000 from all sources except loans ; an amount greater than the whole income of our government from all sources during the first twenty years of its existence under the present constitution.

ESTIMATES FOR 1864—Receipts. —Ordinary sources, Customs, Internal Revenue, Lands, and Miscellaneous,		\$161,568,600
Loans,		594,000,000
Total,		\$755,568,600

Expenditures—For the first quarter, ending September 30, 1863, the actual disbursements have been :—

For the Civil Service,	\$7,216,939
For Pensions and Indians,	1,711,271
For War Department,	144,387,473
For Navy Department,	18,511,618
For Interest on public debt,	4,283,628

Total, \$176,110,93

For the remaining three-quarters estimates, as follows :—

For the Civil Service, . . .	\$27,050,872
For Pensions and Indians, . . .	6,129,042
For War Department, . . .	741,092,037
For Navy Department, . . .	94,467,567
For Interest on Public Debt, . . .	54,881,508
	<hr/>
	\$923,621,026

Making a total, actual and estimated . . . \$1,099,731,900

The Secretary of the Treasury explains away a part of this enormous sum, yet leaves the main facts of the case just where these figures put them, *more than one thousand millions of dollars!* We are able, with all the thousand modes of squeezing money from the people by a war system of taxation, to pay as we go for not one quarter of all this, and the Secretary leaves nearly six hundred millions “to be provided for by loans.” Still how many, claiming to be leaders or exponents of public opinion, congratulate us on our prosperity, and tell us how marvellously fast we are growing rich, faster than ever before!!

ESTIMATES AHEAD.—It is the usage of our Government to make its calculations of income and expense two years in advance; and for 1865, without going into any details, we find the following :—

Estimated balance, July 1, 1864, . . .	\$5,836,539
From Customs, . . .	70,000,000
From Internal Revenue, . . .	125,000,000
From Lands, . . .	1,000,000
From miscellaneous sources, . . .	5,000,000
	<hr/>

Making estimated aggregate receipts . . . \$206,836,539

Expenditures as follows :—

Estimated balance of former appropriations, unexpended July 1, 1864, . . .	350,000,000
For the Civil Service, . . .	27,973,194
For Pensions and Indians, . . .	9,631,304
For the War Department, . . .	536,204,127
For the Navy Department, . . .	142,618,785
For Interest on Public Debt, . . .	85,387,677
	<hr/>

Making the aggregate . . . \$1,151,815,088

Such are the Secretary's figures—*more than eleven hundred millions of dollars* at the present rate of expenditure!

How OUR DEBT GROWS.—“Assuming,” says the Secretary of the Treasury, “the correctness of the estimate which puts the debt on the 1st of July, 1864, at \$1,686,956,641, it will result from these estimates that the whole debt will have reached on the 30th of June, 1865, the sum of \$2,231,935,190.” If we suppose, as we well may, that the rebels have gone as deeply in debt, the whole country, North and South, will have

saddled itself in four years with debts exceeding four thousand millions of dollars! As much in four years as England herself, so long a bugbear to political economists, and warning against national prodigality, succeeded in accumulating in two centuries!

SPENT ON FORTIFICATIONS.—In New England alone were the following appropriations by the last Congress:—

For Fort Knox,	\$150,000
Fort at entrance of Kennebec River,	100,000
Fort on Hog Island, Portland harbor,	150,000
New Fort Preble,	150,000
Fort Scammel,	150,000
New Fort Constitution, Portsmouth harbor,	200,000
Fort Winthrop, Boston harbor,	50,000
Fort Warren, " "	25,000
Forts at Provincetown harbor,	150,000
Fort at New Bedford,	150,000
Fort Adams, Newport harbor,	25,000
Defenses at Narraganset Bay,	150,000
Fortifications at New London,	200,000
 Total,	 \$1,650,000

COMPARATIVE PRODIGALITY OF WAR.—In 1789 our National Government went into operation under Washington; and mark the economy of its few first years in contrast with its current expenditures to-day. From 1789 to 1799 its entire expenses amounted to only \$80,300,274, or a fraction over \$8,000,000 a year. In the next decade they reached \$112,244,147 in all, or less than eleven millions and a quarter a year. Thus the Government cost in its first twenty years an aggregate of only \$192,444,421, or an average of less than \$9,700,000 a year. What a stride in little more than fifty years *from less than ten millions a year to nearly nine hundred millions!* Nor is even this all; for the rebel government the last year have probably spent full three-fourths as much more; and at this rate the whole country, once governed for twenty years at an average cost of less than ten millions a year, now wastes for governmental purposes no less than \$1,575,000,000! Is there in all European prodigality anything to exceed or match this?

INCIDENTAL WASTES OF WAR.—We little calculate or suspect how far actual war diminishes the income of a people. According to the Agricultural Report of our Government for the last November, our corn crop alone falls short this year no less than 140,000,000 bushels; enough to feed a small kingdom in the old world. If other products were reduced in the same proportion, how vast must have been the drain upon the sum total of our resources, and how sure, if this process be continued, must be, sooner or later, our national impoverishment!

REBEL FINANCES.

There has seldom been a more signal failure than the financial system concocted by the rebel leaders ; and it ought to brand them as both incompetent and dishonest. It has been from the first little else than a vast bubble, and consisted almost solely in promises without ability to pay. Despite their clamor for more than fifty years against a tariff, they began with one upon foreign imports, and at length imposed another on their leading exports. Next they raised their postal charges, reduced all non-paying routes, and diminished mail facilities everywhere, in hopes of making the service pay its own expenses ; but this too has proved a failure, as has every other expedient of theirs. They have taken the Southern banks as their fiscal agents, and built up by their aid a vast system of loans ; but as these banks are weak, and the country ruined, the limit has long since passed in that direction. They also issued Treasury notes, and in that way have exhausted themselves ; for while the large population and resources of the loyal States can easily sustain our Treasury notes, the Southern system has become bloated to an unwieldy extent, and the paper currency has degenerated into a nuisance. This paper currency is its only substantial reliance ; and, in order to pay its army and civil officials, it is compelled to increase it continually, and so augment the trouble.

The rebel leaders, though shrinking from such an appeal to the people, were compelled at length to impose a tax of \$150,000,000 ; but it is doubtful how much they have as yet realized, or ever will from this tax. The extreme exhaustion of their finances is seen in the fact that the agents of the Government make seizure of property for the use of the army, and pay for it at their own price. The *Richmond Examiner* speaks of this as the rude and rapacious action of Government "press-gangs," and the rebel press very generally complained bitterly of the "remorseless seizure and impressment of property by the rebel government, now taking place all over the South." It pronounces such impressments an "arbitrary, high-handed measure for which there is no palliation," and says that "if persisted in, it will drive the people from the production of all articles of prime necessity, except what may be sufficient for the necessities of their families, thus sapping the very foundation of the Confederate government, and even society in the Confederate States."

The course pursued is sowing discontent in the army, as well as among the masses of the people. The tyrannical measures, the ruthless conscription of the population, the arbitrary seizure of provisions and property of every kind, the suppression of all freedom of action and of speech, have converted no small portion of the people into enemies of the rebel rule, and led to the desertion of great numbers from the army.

Even Toombs, a ring-leader from the start of the rebellion, tells his followers, "I say to you, in all candor, that the course our Government has

pursued in obtaining its supplies, *has sowed the seeds of discord broadcast over the land, and is generating hostility to the government itself. We must act, and that quickly. The public interest and public safety will no longer allow delay. Our present system is utterly insupportable. It is upsetting the very foundations of private rights, daily weakening public confidence in our cause at home and abroad, and sowing among the people dangerous discontents, which are daily deepening and widening.*"

It would seem, indeed, as if their whole finances were past cure. A currency depreciated to one-twelfth of its nominal value; the people refusing to take the government bonds; the Confederate indebtedness calculated to reach, next July, the sum of \$1,500,000,000; the prices of every thing enormously enhanced, and still rapidly advancing, with no prospect of relief yet held out in any quarter; such is their condition. Having started on a wrong basis, or rather without any adequate basis at all, the rebel leaders cannot help themselves, and all their struggles only sink them deeper and deeper. The *Richmond Enquirer* says its "Government must consume in the course of a year about \$350,000,000 or \$400,000,000, even upon a specie basis, at present rates, \$1,000,000,000;" and it says the evil is increasing fearfully, because "all the old difficulties remain, and new ones are adding daily."

The remedies suggested for this alarming state of things are worthy of the people who used to hold the "Southern Commercial Conventions," and is about on a par with the practical results of those remarkable assemblies. One writer recommends a tax of 33 1-3 per cent. on the outstanding \$550,000,000 of Treasury notes, in order to compel their holders to exchange them for government bonds, or else help the Treasury by the payment of this tax. Another devises a sort of "perpetual motion" system of loans, interest certificates and taxation, by which each part is intended to give vitality to the others, and the whole to bring money into the Treasury from where none can be got now! Another still calls for the prohibition of all blockade-running, and all trade in gold or green-backs; that is, let no streaks of sun-light come into their prison-house to reveal the true extent of their financial wretchedness. All measures of outside value being out off, the poor people may come in time to regard their so-called currency as good as anybody's. But the *Enquirer*, the government organ, at length comes out bluntly in favor of a "forced loan," of the real Mexican type. It says, that "as a conscription act was necessary for the army, so a *property conscription act has become equally necessary for the treasury.*"

ABSTRACT OF REBEL FINANCES.—The recent report of their Secretary of the Treasury, shows that the total revenue from direct taxes, customs and other imposts, was only \$17,332,079, while the operations of the war have involved a total outlay, up to the 31st December last, of \$579,600,525. The estimates to 1st July amount to \$357,929,229, which allows more than two millions of dollars for each secular day. Should these estimates not be exceeded, the entire cost of the war to 1st of July next will be \$937,538,753.

The receipts into the rebel Treasury from all sources from Jan. 1 to Sept. 30, were in round numbers, \$600,000,000, of which \$400,000,000 was raised by issuing treasury notes, \$175,000,000 from loans of various kinds, principally bearing eight per cent. interest; four millions have been raised by a war tax, robbing Union men (*sequestration* it is called) has yielded nearly \$2,600,000; customs a short million; export duty on cotton, eight thousand dollars; while the aggregate genius of the Confederacy has yielded a patent fund of ten thousand dollars! In accounting for the heavy war expenses, it is said, "at the commencement of the war no one foresaw the extent to which it would be carried. It was not expected that we would be called upon to check the advance of half a million of men, supported by the whole outer world, while we were shut in to our own soil and resources. Our products were thought essential to the rest of mankind, and it was believed that they would come and buy them."

Taxation has confessedly been a failure, having been collected in only three States! In the rest, "the States themselves advanced the amounts due by their citizens, and aggravated existing evils by issues of their own notes and bonds." Hence Treasury notes became the inevitable resort; and that plan being used up, and more too, loans in another shape become necessary. The Secretary publishes his government a bankrupt, and attempts the best apology he can for its failure: "Unable to comply with the letter of its engagement, it endeavors to comply with its spirit. It does exactly what an honest debtor in distress is bound to do; it recognizes its debt, offers the best security for payment in its power, and asks for time." A confession of bankruptcy. And this the result of what was going, the leaders confidently predicted, very soon to fill the South with wealth!

REBEL DRAFTS.—The rebel leaders have, as we supposed from the start they would, gone upon the principle of utterly exhausting, if necessary, the fighting capabilities of rebeldom. They began with calling only for volunteers, and then proceeded to scoop into their armies all who were able to hold a gun. A recent return to the Virginia Legislature states that the Confederate army has received 102,915 men from that State. This is an average of 9328 men to a congressional district; and at this rate nearly a million of men must have been forced to fight for the rebellion. A still larger number from the loyal States have been called out to put it down; in all, perhaps, more than two millions on both sides. What a suicidal way of deciding a great question of right!

REBEL ECONOMY.—It seems that the rebels beat even our own government in recklessly lavish expenditures. Their presses tell us that "the Confederacy is now paying seven dollars for every one expended abroad for necessary foreign supplies, and the expenses of the Government are nearly double those of the United States." We see what our own expenses are; and, if theirs are still greater, how long before both combatants must run themselves into irretrievable bankruptcy? How many years more of such vast expenditures can either party stand without utter ruin?

WHAT IT COSTS TO FEED AN ARMY.—The following are the issues of food to Gen. Rosecrans' army at Murfreesboro', Tenn., for the single month of June, 1863 :—

4,775 bbls. pork, at \$12 per bbl.,	\$57,300
503 bbls. beef, \$11.50 per bbl.,	5,784
1,100,000 lbs. fresh beef, \$8.33 per 100 lbs.,	91,700
960,056 lbs. bacon, 7 cts. per lb.,	67,204
747,999 lbs. ham, 8 cts. per lb.,	11,840
9,059 bbls. flour, \$6 per bbl.,	54,354
1,447,457 lbs. hard bread, 5 cts. per lb.,	70,873
13,137 lbs. corn meal, 1½ cts. per lb.,	197
3,495 bus. beans, \$3 per bu.,	10,485
845 bus. peas, \$2.35 per bu.	1,986
40,373 lbs. rice, 10 cts. per lb.,	4,037
147,451 lbs. hominy, 2 cts. per lb.,	2,949
156,620 lbs. roasted coffee, 40 cts. per lb.,	62,648
5,481 lbs. tea, \$1 per lb.,	5,481
357,653 lbs. brown sugar, 12 1-2 cts. per lb.,	44,707
5,575 lbs. white sugar, 15 cts. per lb.,	836
12,118 gals. vinegar, 10 cts. per gal.,	1,212
31,802 lbs. ad. candles, 20 cts. per lb.,	6,360
72,493 lbs. soap, 8 cts. per lb.,	5,799
2,144 bus. salt, 50 cts. per bu.,	1,072
1,237,876 lbs. potatoes, 2 cts. per lb.,	24,757
3,365 gals. molasses, 50 cts. per gal.,	1,682
430 gals. golden syrup,	365
10,007 gals. whiskey, \$1 per gal.,	10,007
10,300 lbs. dessicated potatoes,	937
18,720 lbs. mixed vegetables, 19 cts.,	3,557
655 gals. pickles, 35 cts. per gal.,	229
2,425 lbs. pepper, 35 cts. per lb.,	849
1,042 lbs. dried peaches, 10 cts. per lb.,	104
3,600 lbs. ground coffee, 35 cts. per lb.,	1,260
700 lbs. dried apples, 6 cts. per lb.,	42
383 gals. pickled cabbage, 35 cts.,	134
Total,	<hr/> \$550,749

REBEL REPRESENTATION.—Our revolutionary sires fought seven years against the claim to tax men who are not represented. The rebels have reversed the case ; they allow in their Congress representatives from states that pay no tax at all. Kentucky and Missouri, where the rebels do not hold a foot of territory, are represented in the rebel Congress, also the districts of Tennessee which are under our control. There is now, or recently was, before the rebel Congress a bill to levy a tax of \$150,000,000 ; and no wonder they were puzzled to know what to do about collecting it where they had no control, as in the case not only of Kentucky and Missouri, but of Arkansas and Texas, Louisiana, Mississippi, and parts indeed of every State in the Confederacy. "Only seven of the Atlantic and Gulf States are left to bear the brunt ; and even these are subject to curtailment, since large portions of their territory have been overrun by the enemy and desolated."

PRIZE FIGHTING.—It is amazing that any decent journal should take the slightest notice, except to condemn, of such a brutal scene as the late prize-fight in England between Heenan and King, the representatives of the lowest classes in American and English society, the dregs of its vulgarity and rowdiness. It is a relic in private life of the public barbarism which still keeps alive the war-system of Christendom, a burlesque and libel on the civilization of the age.

The feeling in this country is fairly represented in the following from the New York Post: "It is not a case in which victory was to be desired, or in which any one, solicitous for his country's honor, would care to have the success credited to America. There are many peculiarities in English life and character which we can imitate far more creditably than the brutal practice of prize-fighting. There can be no doubt, moreover, that if he who was put forward by his friends as the American champion, had beaten his antagonist, a considerable impulse would have been given in this country to an amusement, as it is called, which is disgusting and degrading in its nature, its incidents and influences. England is the only civilized nation on the face of the earth which tolerates the custom. Even there it is forbidden by the laws, though these are often rendered ineffective by public opinion. We should not like to see the United States share with England in the disgrace of encouraging a pastime which has no single benefit to recommend it, but a thousand evil effects to condemn it in the eyes of all worthy people."

HARDSHIPS OF MILITARY SERVICE.—"We met in the street," says an editor, "a poor soldier from the wars, with one hand shot away, and, as he said, with six bullets in his person. One, which went into his mouth, was under his ear. Said he belonged to a Massachusetts regiment, received his wounds at the Winchester battle, enlisted in Boston, belongs to East-port, Me., and is on his way home. The poor fellow had no shirt; and the old blue coat and trousers, the former of which was riddled with balls, appeared to be his only clothing. He was a pitiable looking object truly. Is this the way wounded soldiers are sent home?"

A hard case surely; but most of them would be glad to reach home, if they could, even in such a plight. Alas! how many leave their bones in distant graves, buried very much as we do a dead horse or ox! Such is one of the conditions of military service.

PENSIONS.—These inevitable legacies of war are accumulating upon us with fearful rapidity. The pension bill of the last Congress was expected to draw from the national treasury not less than \$40,000,000 a year, nearly four times as much as all the expenses of our government during the presidency of John Quincy Adams in 1824-8!

EXPENDITURE OF EMULATION.—Many years ago Sir Robert Peel referred, on the greatest authority, to the power and character of the establishments maintained by the Governments throughout Europe—the foreign military establishments. I am afraid since the time when he spoke, the evil has grown much more intense than it was then. In almost every quarter they increased those establishments. Financial deficits are the same in every country. No doubt great efforts have been made in France to reduce the expenditure; but it is difficult to say with what success. Italy, with her destinies and fortunes in a manner in the balance, stands in the condition of a country that, as to her finance, is accumulating debt from year to year with a rapidity that must make her best and fastest friends tremble for the future. That is what we see going on. I have seen that in a speech of M. Fould, addressed to the Senate in Paris, he speaks in terms of depreciation of what he calls *expenditure of emulation*, and expresses a hope that expenditure of emulation is likely to be diminished.

I am sure it is easy for every right-minded man fervently to re-echo these sentiments. It is impossible to deny the relation which exists between the general expenditure and the defensive and military expenditure of the different countries of Europe. Of course, it is the duty of the Government, in framing their estimates, to consider first the honor, the interests and the security of the country, and along with that honor, those interests, and that security, the deliberate judgment which was given by the House of Commons in the course of last session. But, subject to these considerations and after the eloquent denunciation of the Finance Minister of France, I may presume to say we feel an additional satisfaction in submitting a plan which contemplates not an inconsiderable remission of the burdens of the people. If we can hope that that remission will be accepted in other lands, and will be construed in other lands as a friendly acceptance of a friendly challenge; if I may venture to hope that what we may propose, and what Parliament shall accept, may become an innocent but powerful provocation to similar proceedings, and to similar tendencies in other countries; if we may hope we are contributing to promote the tendencies that may exist elsewhere on behalf of peace, of progress, of order, and of civilization, it will be an additional satisfaction to us over and above the benefits which the British people will derive from a reduction of their burdens; if we may venture to hope we are contributing in any humble degree to the allaying of unhappy jealousies, and to the producing a more solid harmony among the great civilized nations of the world.—*Gladstone's Speech on the Budget, 1863.*

COMPARATIVE MAGNITUDE OF THE GETTYSBURG BATTLE.—This battle of three days will compare in magnitude with any of the great battles in modern times. In the battle of Waterloo, the Allies had 70,000, the French had 80,000 men; in this the Rebels had 90,000, the Federals about 60,000 men. The British had 186 cannon, the French 255; the Rebels had upwards of 200, and we an equal number. The Allies lost 20,000 in killed and wounded; the French 40,000 in killed, wounded, prisoners and deserters; the Federals lost about 4,000 killed, 12,000 wounded, and 4,000 prisoners, or, in all, about 20,000; whilst the Rebels lost 5,500 killed, 21,000 wounded, 9,000 prisoners, and 4,000 stragglers and deserters, or a total of about 40,000. The proportion of men and of losses in both battles is nearly the same.

FIDELITY OF QUAKERS TO THEIR PRINCIPLES.

A state of war always bears extremely hard upon the Society of Friends; but few, if any, can refrain from admiring their loyalty to conscience, alike at the North and the South, in refusing to bear arms. Our own government, though its legislation makes no more exception in their favor than it does of Christian ministers, is comparatively lenient in practice towards them; but the exigencies of the rebels will not spare them, and there must be many cases like the following, quoted in substance from the *N. Y. Tribune*:—

“Many of the Society of Friends have long resided in North Carolina; and, in the early stages of the rebellion, the rebel powers, well knowing their peaceful principles, permitted them to pass unmolested, though known to be unconditional Union men. But as time went on, disaster to the rebellion succeeded to disaster, and men were captured, killed or disabled to so fearful an extent, that every one out of the army must be brought into it. Early this year the conscription fell upon the Friends. In one neighborhood some twelve of them were drafted. In accordance with their well known principles, they refused to join the army, but were forced into the ranks. Here muskets were given to them; but every man of them refused even to touch the weapons. Every conceivable insult and outrage was heaped upon them; they were tied up, starved and whipped. Still they refused to fight; and finally the muskets were actually strapped to their bodies.

One of these Friends was singled out as especially obnoxious, and was whipped unmercifully. The officer in charge was lawless and brutal, and on one occasion ordered him to be shot as an example to others. He called out a file of men to shoot him. While his executioners were drawn up before him, standing within twelve feet of their victim, the latter, raising his eyes and hands to heaven, cried out in a loud voice: ‘Father, forgive them; they know not what they do.’ Instantly came the order to fire; but, instead of obeying it, the men dropped their muskets and refused, declaring that they could not kill such a man. This refusal so enraged the officer, that he knocked his victim down in the road, and then strove repeatedly to trample him to death under his horse’s feet. The animal persistently refused even to step over his prostrate body.

In the end, they were marched with the rebel army to Gettysburg. In that battle, they remained entirely passive, fired no shot, and in God alone trusted for preservation. Very early in the action, the officer referred to was killed. The Friends, all unhurt, were taken prisoners, and sent to Fort Delaware. Here by accident it became known in Philadelphia that several Friends were among the captured; and two members of the Society went down to inquire into the circumstances, and finally, on an order from Washington, obtained their discharge on condition of their taking an affirmation of their allegiance. This opened the prison door. The affirmation made, these martyrs for conscience sake were released.”

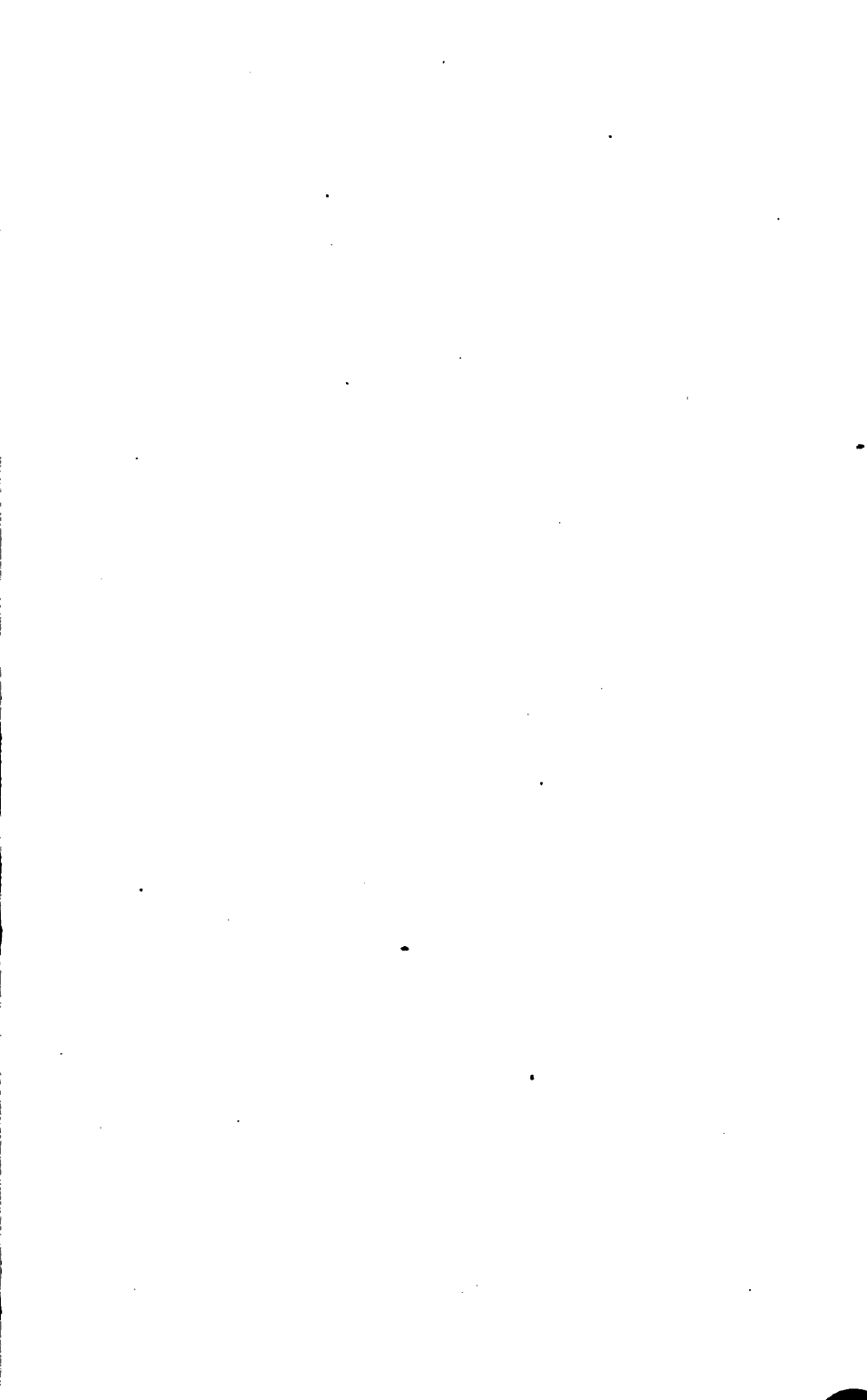
A beautiful and touching instance of fidelity to conscience; and in view of the narrative, well does one on the other side of the Atlantic ask, “who will dare say he believes the perfect safety of these men amidst the carnage of Gettysburg to have been the work of chance? As certainly as the lions’ mouths were closed before the captive Daniel by no work of chance, so surely, amidst the hellish strife and confusion of that fearful scene, did the all-controlling arm of the Omnipotent One bring unscathed those who dared


to trust Him. And would not the same Almighty arm preserve the nation that should dare so to trust? Would there be any presumption in this? Would it be tempting Providence?"


HOW SOON WILL THE REBELLION END?—Everybody now sees that it must terminate in crushing the rebels, and restoring the rightful authority of our government over our whole original territory; but we cannot fully share the views of those who calculate upon a speedy close of this great struggle. We have supposed it possible, but not probable, that the Confederacy might, by its peculiar composition, and its own elements of internal weakness and strife, crumble suddenly to pieces in such a crash as would astound the world. Against this, however, the rebel leaders long ago guarded themselves in all possible ways, by getting and keeping in their own hands nearly every particle of power or effective influence throughout rebeldom. It was from the first a desperate stake of their all; and now working more and more clearly with the halter round their necks, their desperation is pretty sure to increase with the difficulties that surround them. The President's Proclamation of Amnesty to all except the chiefs, will only just drive these few, who hold in their hands nearly all the power, to measures more defiant and desperate than ever. They will assuredly continue the struggle as long as they can either coax or force the people of the South to spend their blood and treasure in the service of these desperate leaders. How long that will be, God alone can tell; but we deem it wise to calculate upon a long, harassing protraction of the conflict, to be followed at its close with a series of difficulties among ourselves likely to outlast the present generation, if not half a dozen more.


ABSURDITY OF WAR.—War is quite an incomprehensible mystery. In the abstract, it is so absurd that questions of fact, or right, or morals should be decided by the deadly quarrels of large bodies of ignorant men, that a child's logic repudiates it. It is so repugnant, also, to the ordinary impulses of affection, and an instinctive regard for self-preservation, that it would seem utterly impossible to induce nations to fight. Were it not a fact, the very idea of war would be the extremest absurdity. Were it asserted that one-half the population of a nation drilled themselves voluntarily to skilful evolutions, and that finally on a set day, they all by common consent committed suicide, each plunging his weapon into his own body, it would be no more absurd than the actual facts of war. Many times more human beings than now people the whole earth, have actually fallen in war; enough to people a number of planets like this!—*Zion's Herald*.

☞ FUNDS.—Our friends will remember the statement, briefly made in our last number, respecting our need of their aid; and we beg to remind them of that statement, and hope they will all make in due time such response as some of them already have.



 **TO EDITORS**—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.


 **TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL**—the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

 Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706.	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196,	75
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252,	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212,	25
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108.	20
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier. 16 mo., pp. 303. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310,	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond. 8vo., pp. 168.	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.,	20
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2 50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12,	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.	5
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts.	

FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. —  Be very careful to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested by the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your purpose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE.—*The law allows only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.*

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may be addressed all communications designed for the Society.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
MARCH AND APRIL.

CONTENTS.

Obstacles to the Spread of Christianity.....	37	Idleness of a Soldier's Life.....	57
Quakers on our Rebellion.....	44	Hardening Effects of War.....	58
Peace Reform a Permanent Work.....	47	Our capacity for Debt.....	59
Northern Industry.....	47	Emancipation as a War-Measure.....	60
Plea of Nationality.....	48	The chief credit in War.....	60
Value of a Soul.....	52	Rebel Treatment of Deserters.....	60
Facts and Views about the Rebellion:		Battles of the Bible.....	61
Mistakes about Secession.....	53	Blockade Running a bad Speculation.....	63
Rebel Desperation.....	53	What Royalty Costs.....	64
Mrs. Stowe on the Rebellion.....	54	Emigration to America.....	64
Views of Patriotism.....	55	How Soldiers Plunder.....	64
What is wasted on Tobacco.....	55	Present Loans in Europe.....	65
Immorality of the War System.....	53	Notices of Publications.....	65
Casualties of War.....	57	Postscripts from Contributors.....	66
		Receipts.....	67

 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.
CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.
1864.



THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MARCH AND APRIL, 1864.

OBSTACLES TO THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

THE cause of Peace aims at a right application of the gospel to the intercourse of nations; and we have always insisted on this reform as being important, if not indispensable, to the spread of Christianity among the heathen. The war policy of Christendom, and the war habits of men calling themselves Christians, have been for nearly fifteen centuries one of the chief obstacles to its spread; and we doubt more and more whether the world can ever be converted to God so long as this standing libel of blood upon our religion of peace and love shall remain to thwart and neutralize our efforts.

On this point Japan is a memorable illustration. "There was a time when Europeans had ample access and a most cordial welcome to every part of the empire. We may, in a few sentences, taken principally from the works of Sir Rutherford Alcock, and the Bishop of Victoria, sketch the first chapter in the history of European intercourse with Japan. When a Portuguese ship, bearing a freight of missionaries and merchants, the former headed by Francis Xavier, entered the waters of Japan, about the middle of the sixteenth century, the strangers were received with open arms, and not the slightest opposition was made to the introduction of either trade or religion. The Government made no objection to the open preaching of Christianity. The Portuguese were freely permitted to go where they pleased in the empire. If the feudal princes were ever at any time ready to quarrel with the merchant, it was because he would *not* come to their ports. In a few

years, the Christianity of the Jesuit Fathers had spread widely through the country. People of all ranks, and in large numbers, embraced the faith. Japan, to all human appearance, was on the verge of becoming a professedly Christian nation.

“But what was the result of the admission and influence of these professed Christians? ‘The accounts of the period,’ says Sir R. Alcock, ‘are full of details of feuds between the different monastic orders; of the pride, avarice, and overbearing arrogance of the priests; the overreaching and insatiable cupidity of the Portuguese and Spanish merchants, which latter charges are not even limited to the laymen.’ Spaniards, Portuguese, and Dutch, were engaged in endless conflicts with each other. But, above all, the Jesuits were found engaged in extensive political intrigues, with a view, by means of some of the great feudatory princes of the empire, to overthrow the power of the reigning sovereign, and place the country under the supremacy of the Pope. The seeds of sedition and civil war had been spread in secret throughout the whole land. When these facts gradually forced themselves on the knowledge of the Japanese Government and people, they were roused into terrible indignation, and determined to expel or to extirpate all the adherents of a sect that had brought, or threatened to bring, such calamities on their country. Their stern resolve was expressed in these words:—‘So long as the sun shall warm the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan.’ Need we wonder, then, that when the Japanese see the successors of those who wrought so great an evil among them, and left so sinister an impression behind them, two centuries and a half ago, now again trying to effect a settlement on their shores, they should be filled with apprehension and displeasure? ‘Three centuries ago,’ says Sir Alexander Alcock, ‘they voluntarily and trustfully made treaties with the principal maritime powers of Europe, and the relations thus established all ended disastrously in a forcible disruption, after years of civil and religious war convulsing the country.’ To them we are ‘descendants of those who, within the first century of their appearance in the country where they were received with a friendly welcome, drained it of its gold, convulsed it with civil and religious wars, and spread fierce dissensions where they had found peace and union.’ How exactly we are proving ourselves to be the descendants of those men, in all the lineaments of their moral character, will presently appear.

“But the Japanese have not only these traditions of their own history to guide them in estimating the value of the European friendship attempted to be forced upon them, but they have, moreover, the observation of what

we (the English) have done in India, and especially what is going on in the neighboring country of China, as a living practical illustration of the fruits of such friendship. And what *do* they find there? They find a small number of western traders settling at one or two of the outlying ports, at first with very humble professions of wishing only to engage in commerce, mainly, of course, for the advantage of the Chinese! But they find these humble traders gradually growing more arrogant and encroaching year by year, until at length they bring tremendous armaments to ravage the coasts, to bombard the cities, to slaughter the people by the myriad. They know, moreover, that these strangers have flooded China with opium, which they have forced on the country at the mouth of the cannon, in defiance of its laws, and to the infinite detriment of its population. And, finally, they see that vast empire which, prior to the intrusion of foreigners, had enjoyed a long period of internal unity, order, and peace, now, as the result of their intervention, convulsed with revolutions, thrown into a state of bloody and hopeless anarchy, which these same foreigners are doing their best to exasperate to the utmost by embroiling themselves more and more, some on one side and some on the other, in these domestic disturbances of their own creation, some on the pretence of trade, and some from sheer love of fighting and loot."

In 1860, the Bishop of Victoria visited Japan; and in his account of his visit he speaks of the arrogant, reckless, overbearing conduct of the foreign settlers towards the natives. "He speaks of an American captain, who, when an official of the Japanese Custom-house waited upon him respecting some irregular transactions in the way of business, which he had committed, assaulted the man most brutally, 'broke his sword, and kicked him out of the house.' Of another who, meeting an individual in the streets with a peculiar covering for his head, worn by a certain class in Japan, 'knocked it off his shoulders, and sent it rolling into the street.' Of 'reckless companies of foreign sailors getting embroiled in fracas which sometimes terminate in bloodshed and death. The unfortunately true fact of the case is,' says this excellent prelate, 'that Europeans in every part of the world too often carry with them a contemptuous dislike of the aboriginal natives, and demean themselves with the air of a superior and conquering race even in countries where they are barely tolerated by the governing powers, and are regarded (sometimes with the semblance of real truth) as inferior in civilization. . . . We must unlearn much of our East Indian pride of conquest and arrogant assumption of superiority of race before our phraseology or manners towards the natives will be a true

reflection of the spirit and the example of the religion of Jesus Christ.' Very significant, also, is the hope he expresses that a higher standard of social morality among Europeans may ultimately improve the tone of international amity and good-will in Japan, 'when the true representatives of the Christian civilization of Britain and the United States shall have flocked to this land in greater number, and when the disorderly element of Californian adventurers, Portuguese desperadoes, runaway sailors, piratical outlaws, and the moral refuse of European nations, who hasten as the first settlers to every new region, and infest with their lawlessness and violence the aboriginal races of the East, shall be swept away by the strong arm of law, or be driven elsewhere by the moral sense and united protest of an improved public opinion."

Nor is this all; for *some* of our missionaries breathe a spirit, or utter sentiments, sure to steel the hearts of the heathen against the gospel. "A Rev. W. S. Bagley, an Independent Missionary in Japan," of whom we know nothing, is reported as saying, "I could wish with all my heart, that this people might hear of Christ *without* the forerunner of the sword; but, as they have fortified themselves by all the force of the Government, if now the cannon comes to break and overthrow, Amen!" "We do earnestly hope that the sect who believe in this truculent version of the gospel, is disappearing from amongst us. Professor Goldwin Smith exposes their sophistry with a just and scathing severity: 'We seem to have thoroughly persuaded ourselves that, in conquering, annexing, and slaughtering wherever our cupidity leads us, we are preserving, elevating, and Christianizing heathen nations. We shall exterminate the Maories from their land, and then we shall come down to prayers! Let any friend of humanity who reposes under this agreeable illusion, reckon up on the one side the number of people who have perished by our wars, mutinies and bombardments in India, Birmah, China, Afghanistan, Japan, the Australian, New Zealand, and Cape Colonies; let him add to this number the Chinese whom we have poisoned, body and soul, by our opium, or who will perish in the confusion which our opium wars, by ruining the native Government, have produced; let him throw in the hell of evil passions which, together with all this slaughter and physical misery, has been let loose over the world; let him then calculate how many of the heathen have, according to any credible estimate, been converted to Christianity in the scenes of our conquests; and he will, I think, see some reason to doubt whether the conqueror's sword, or the rifle of the exterminating colonist, is the chosen instrument for Christianizing the world.'"

"There is," says the Rev. Henry Richard, Secretary of the London Peace Society, from whose admirable pamphlet on England's treatment of Japan we have taken nearly all the facts of this article, "something inexpressibly sorrowful in the prospect opening out before Japan as the result of its acquaintance with the *Christian* nations. Very few years have elapsed since it was re-opened to the intercourse and commerce of the west. The travellers who have since visited the country — Commodore Perry, Mr. Oliphant, the Bishop of Victoria, Mr. Fortune, Mr. Rodolph Lindau, and Sir Rutherford Alcock — have drawn a picture both of the country and the people, that is replete with interest. Amid natural scenery of the most exquisite description, and cultivating a land of unbounded fertility, dwells a race of men, intelligent, industrious, ingenious, and amiable in a very high degree. Under social and political institutions which may seem strange to us, but with which they are perfectly content, they have enjoyed for centuries as much of internal order, peace, and prosperity, as perhaps any nation under heaven. A few sentences from some of the writers mentioned above will afford the reader a glimpse into the condition and character of the people: 'The numerous villages, the vast plains covered with a rich cultivation, and laborers scattered in the fields, all seemed to breathe of well-being and peace. At our feet the green rice-fields stretching down to the shore, formed, as it were, one magnificent garden.' (Lindau.) 'The people in the small towns appeared to be divided into three principal classes — the officials, the traders, and laborers. The inferior people, almost without exception, seemed thriving and contented, and not overworked.' (Com. Perry.) 'In all the mechanical arts the Japanese have unquestionably achieved great excellence. In their porcelain, their bronzes, their silk fabrics, their lacquer, and their metallurgy generally, including works of exquisite art in design and execution, they not only rival the best products of Europe, but can produce in each of these departments works we cannot imitate, or perhaps equal.' (Alcock.) 'There is one feature in the society of Japan, by which the superiority of the people to all other oriental nations is clearly manifest: woman is recognized as a companion, and not merely a slave. . . . Education is diffused throughout the empire; and the women of Japan, unlike those of China, share in the intellectual advancement of the men, and are not only skilled in accomplishments peculiar to their sex, but are frequently well versed in their native literature.' (Com. Perry.) 'I shall never forget the kind welcome of the peasants wherever I went. Scarcely had I entered their doors, when the father invited me to sit down, and the mother, greeting

me with a modest air, offered me tea. . . . When I went away, they accompanied me to the road, and until I was out of sight I heard their friendly voices, crying, "Come back again to-morrow." I speak of the time from the year 1859 to the year 1861. I dare not say the same welcome would now be given to foreigners walking in the country in Japan.' (Lindau.)

"Can any humane man desire to see introduced into such a country, and among such a people, the scene of hideous confusion and blood which now prevails in China as the result of Western intervention? Would any amount of commerce compensate them for such a change? We do not doubt for a moment that the Japanese, like every other nation on the face of the earth, would be infinitely better for the introduction of Christianity among them; but the drunken and brutal violence of sailors, the dissolute, irreligious lives of settlers, the greedy and reckless cupidity of merchants, the bombshells of fleets scattering destruction and horror among their peaceable cities, all this is *not* Christianity, nor anything in the smallest degree resembling it. Yet *this* is the sort of thing we are introducing into Japan, against which the exertions of a few missionaries, however faithful and devoted, will, we fear, avail but little, while their instructions are habitually and openly belied by the whole life and character of their countrymen."

The late wanton, cold-blooded burning of Kagosima in Japan, a city of 180,000 inhabitants, is a pretty fair though startling specimen of the way in which governments reputedly Christian misrepresent our religion before the world. An English adventurer for gain had insolently trampled under foot the laws of Japan, and thus occasioned a popular tumult in which he lost his life; and in revenge for his death, a large British fleet, without warning or mercy, laid a whole city in ashes! The actors in this fiendish deed report it with great satisfaction and glee. "The whole town," say they, "is in flames, the city is one mass of ruins." The bombardment continued for two days. At the end of the first day's operations, Admiral Kuper says, '*one half of the town was in flames, and entirely destroyed*, as well as a very extensive arsenal or factory and gun foundry, and five large Loo-Chu junks, the property of the Prince, in addition to the three steamers already described.' Not satisfied with this terrible havoc, the Admiral renewed the work on the following day. While the town was still blazing fiercely with the fire he had kindled the day before, he 'took advantage of the occasion to shell the palace in Kagosima,' and adds, 'these operations were attended with complete success. There is every reason to suppose, that the palace has been destroyed, as many shells were seen to burst in it, and the fire,

which is still raging, 'affords reasonable ground for believing *that the entire town of Kagosima is now a mass of ruins.*' In a despatch addressed by him to the Admiralty, he thus sums up his achievements:— 'The injury inflicted upon the possessions and property of the Prince of Satsuma, during the operations above described, may be briefly summed up as follows:—The disabling of many guns, explosion of magazines, and other serious damages to the principal batteries, the destruction by fire of the three steamers and five large junks before mentioned, *the whole of the town of Kagosima*, and palace of the Prince, together with the large arsenal and gun factory, and adjacent warehouses; added to which, may be noticed the injury to many of the junks lying in the inner harbor, caused by explosion of shells which may have passed over the batteries. *The conflagration thus created continued with unabated ardor up to the time of the departure of the squadron, forty-eight hours subsequently to the attack.*' To understand the full horror of what these words import, we must remember that, owing to the frequency of earthquakes, all towns in Japan are built of wood; that after the town had been set on fire the first day, 'a heavy typhoon,' says Admiral Kuper, 'blew during the night, the conflagration increasing in proportion to the height of the storm;' and that no warning whatever was given to the inhabitants, so that they might at least have had an opportunity to escape from this dreadful havoc, even though to homelessness and starvation."

Let us bear in mind that all this was done only a few months ago by England, the great leader in Protestant missions to the heathen; nor have we as yet any proof, but rather the contrary, that her government repudiates or condemns this savage atrocity. How many thousand missionaries, how many myriads of treasure, will suffice to wipe from the general mind of Japan the memory of such a deed? Yet is this but one among thousands of kindred acts perpetrated by so-called Christian governments. Nearly the whole history of England in India, China and Australia has been full of similar outrages. So of France, of ourselves, and of all reputedly Christian governments. They are libels on the religion we profess. Is there no call for reforms among ourselves in this respect to prepare the way for the world's conversion to Christ? Is the sort of Christianity, exhibited for the most part in our intercourse with the heathen, really fit for their reception? Can we wonder at their meeting it with distrust, fear and scorn? Will a God of infinite holiness, peace, and love ever allow such a counterfeit of his blessed gospel to become the religion of all mankind? Most fully do we believe, that scarce anything is more needed than the Peace Reform in the great work of the world's conversion to Christianity in its primitive purity and power.

QUAKERS ON OUR REBELLION.

We have received a pamphlet giving a brief exposition of the stand taken by the Society of Friends touching our rebellion. It is an able document of much interest at the present time, and throws light upon the course which they feel compelled by their principles to pursue in the fearful crisis through which our country is passing. They are strictly loyal, and quite willing to bear their share of the public burdens, but cannot, with a good conscience, either serve in the army, or procure substitutes, or give countenance in any other way to the use of violent means for the suppression of this rebellion, because forbidden by their principles. But we will let them speak for themselves :—

“The position occupied by Friends in relation to war, to the right of liberty of conscience, and the duty of citizens to obey the laws, and support civil government, is sometimes misunderstood for want of a just appreciation of the ground upon which we act. From its rise, the Society has ever entertained and declared views upon each of these subjects, consonant with the doctrines set forth in the gospel. It has always believed that civil government is a divine ordinance, designed to promote the welfare and happiness of mankind, and that it is a Christian duty to live quiet and peaceable lives under it, in all godliness and honesty ; to obey all laws which are not incompatible with the precepts of our holy Redeemer, and cheerfully to bear our full share of the public burdens. While acknowledging, however, their allegiance to government, and yielding to the powers that be the right of exercising all the functions necessary for promoting the good of the people, Friends have ever held, that they, in common with all other Christians, are amenable to God alone for the exercise of liberty of conscience, which is an inherent and inalienable right, and that no earthly power possesses authority to take it away. When any believe his will to be made known, by the Holy Scriptures, or by his Spirit in the heart, it is their duty to act in accordance therewith ; and it is their right to do this without being hindered or molested by their fellow-man, provided they have due respect to the rights of others, and violate none of the laws of Christian morality. The tenor of the gospel establishes these truths, and the New Testament history of the Apostles shows, that they claimed and exercised the right of liberty of conscience, a conscience void of offence towards God and towards man. In pleading for it at the present time, therefore, we are advancing no new claim ; for since the day when it was declared, ‘ we ought to obey God rather than man,’ down to the present time, true-hearted Christians have often suffered wrong and outrage therefor.

From the earliest rise of our religious body it has uniformly maintained a steadfast testimony against all wars and fightings, as being contrary to the pure and peaceable religion of our Lord Jesus Christ. His glorious advent was foretold by Isaiah under the character of the Prince

of Peace, and His kingdom is righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. He enjoins upon all to submit to this government ; and, in order to do this, He teaches them to love their enemies, to do good to them that hate them, and pray for them who despitefully use them and persecute them. He declared that He came 'not to destroy men's lives, but to save them.' He drew a clear and strong contrast between the imperfect dispensation of the Mosaic Law and that of His blessed gospel, showing that the former had allowed the retaliation of injuries, 'An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth,' but that His commandment now is 'I say unto you, that ye resist not evil, but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also.' In the prayer which our Saviour gave his disciples, He makes the measure of the forgiveness they ask from their Father in heaven to be that which they show to those who offend them : 'Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors ;' adding, 'for if ye forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you ; but if ye forgive not men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses.'

We know of no course of reasoning consonant with the New Testament, nor any circumstances, which can release us from the obligation to obey these plain and positive precepts of our Lord, or that can reconcile with them the dreadful business of war. We have no more license to indulge in its cruel and revengeful spirit, than had the immediate followers of Christ ; neither do we find any narrower limit allowed us for showing our love and good will to man.

The religious obligation resting on us to act consistently with our Christian faith, is paramount to any which could bind us to yield an active compliance with the laws for maintaining or enforcing the performance of military duty. Friends are restrained from any participation in war or military measures, not from any want of loyalty to the government, nor from a disposition factiously to obstruct the execution of the laws, nor yet to shelter ourselves from danger or hardship ; but because the requirements made contravene in this particular what we believe to be the will of God, and we are bound to obey Him rather than man.

The wickedness and enormities of the rebellion which has plunged our country into the horrors of war, devastated many portions of it, caused a fearful sacrifice of human life, spread want and misery, and filled so many hearts and homes with sorrow, are abhorrent to our principles and feelings ; and it is our fervent desire that it may please the Almighty Ruler of Nations to quench the spirit of rebellion and anarchy, to stay the effusion of blood, and once more to establish peace and order throughout our afflicted land. But our religious belief as much restrains us from taking part in this war as in any other, and we claim the right of liberty of conscience to act according to this belief, in this, as in every other article of our faith."

This we take to be a fair practical application of Quakerism to the present crisis ; and, while unable to agree with the Friends on every point, we cannot withhold our admiration of their transparent sincerity,

and unfaltering fidelity to principle. Nor do we deem it at all inconsistent with this respect to submit a few queries for their consideration :—

1. Does consistency require peace men, believers in the incompatibility of war with the gospel, to decline the payment of money in lieu of military service? They can pay, as merchants often do duties deemed excessive, under protest against the service as wrong; and the simple fact of their refusal for such a reason would bear their testimony against war as unmistakably as if they should go to the stake. Is not this degree of scrupulosity quite superfluous? In many other ways they are constantly testifying against war, and thus leave no doubt anywhere about their views on the subject. The payment under protest of a fine or a commutation fee would answer precisely the same moral ends as a pertinacious refusal to accept what is meant by government as a kind concession to their scruples. Would it not be better thus to requite its indulgence? Would not God, as well as man, regard this as perfectly satisfactory?

2. If this be *not* so, we may well doubt whether we can consistently recognize civil government, as Quakers themselves do, by voting, and paying general taxes. The right to use at will the force necessary for the execution of its laws, lies at the bottom of *all* government as indispensable to its existence and effective power; and this right we as truly recognize by voting, or by paying *ordinary* taxes, as we should by the payment of military fines. Do not nine-tenths of our taxes *confessedly* go to pay war-expenses? Is not our national debt *all* for this end? Everybody knows it is; but shall peace men refuse on this ground to pay their taxes? It seems to us just as right or just as wrong to do so, as it is to avoid military service by paying a military fine.

3. It deserves still more serious inquiry, how far these views are compatible with civil government. The Friends profess in all sincerity to regard it "as a divine ordinance for the welfare and happiness of mankind;" but what *is* such government, and how are its ends to be secured? Its laws must of course be executed; but how can they be? If a Quaker were mayor of Philadelphia, appointed on purpose to see the laws enforced, how would he deal with a gang of burglars, incendiaries or murderers infesting the city? A worthy Friend is now the mayor of a New England city; and would you censure him for the use of such force as he should find necessary in executing the laws? Had such a man been mayor of New York last summer, ought he on Christian principles to let the rioters have their way in their work of robbery, murder, and conflagration? Were he President of the United States, solemnly pledged to see the laws executed, and holding in his hand the main-

springs of executive power for the whole country, would it be right, in accordance with the teachings of Christ and his Apostles, for him to stand still, and let a remorseless, gigantic rebellion trample under its blood-stained hoof all our laws with entire impunity?

These are real, practical difficulties. It is no part of our business as a Peace Society to meet them; but they *must* be met by somebody, and we recognize the right of civil government to meet them at discretion by a due execution of law against every class of wrong-doers.

We regret to find Friends in this document treating such an enforcement of law as the same thing in principle with an ordinary war between nations. The difference seems to us too marked and palpable to escape the notice of any eye. The mayors of Boston and New Bedford, by a prompt, resolute exercise of their authority, averted such evils as overwhelmed New York last summer. Does such an enforcement of law deserve to be called war? Had the mayor of New York done the same thing with a like good result, would it have been wrong? Would it not rather have been a legitimate, Christian way of preserving the public peace? In all these cases, the crimes perpetrated or attempted were identical in principle, aim, and effect with the rebellion that is still drenching our land in blood; and the enforcement of law in each case we must regard as equally right or equally wrong; and, if wrong, then *all* execution of law, and all government, must be wrong.

THE PEACE REFORM A PERMANENT WORK.—Such a reform must be the work of ages. An evil so deeply rooted, widely diffused, and everywhere upheld by all the prejudices of society, and the whole power of government, can never be eradicated, or kept under control, without strenuous efforts long continued. We must recast the general mould. There must be incessant, ubiquitous labor. Such efforts will be needed to the end of time; and thus must the cause of peace become a perpetual necessity. God's appointed means for the world's permanent pacification will be to the end of time just as necessary as those prescribed for the world's conversion and salvation.

NORTHERN INDUSTRY—*Conn.*—Connecticut, small as she is, can boast of three thousand industrial establishments, and a capital of \$46,000,000 invested in manufacturing business, giving employment to sixty thousand hands. If we add together all the industrial products of North Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Texas and Mississippi, Connecticut is \$20,000,000 in advance of them all.

THE PLEA OF NATIONALITY.

The question of nationality is at the bottom of nearly all the troubles that threaten the peace of Europe. It is the sole cause of the miserable conflict in Poland. It is the uneasy element which is still fermenting in Italy and Hungary, and which keeps nearly all the European Provinces of Turkey constantly bubbling with suppressed insurrection. It is the motive, or at least the avowed motive, of the strange frenzy which impels all Germany to precipitate itself upon the little province of Schleswig-Holstein at the hazard of provoking a general war. Now, we must avow a very strong conviction, which we have long cherished, though its avowal may, perhaps, at first shock the prejudices of many whom we respect, that this idea of nationality is a poor, low, selfish, unchristian idea, at variance with the very principle of an advanced civilization, and must, so long as it is cherished and pursued with the headlong and passionate zeal which its advocates now display, prove fatal, not only to peace, but to all progress in liberty and good government.

We maintain that it is emphatically an unchristian idea. The design of the gospel is to reconcile men not only to God, as their common Father, but to each other as brethren. It proclaims aloud the great truths, that God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell on the face of the earth; that its object is, as much as possible, to abolish those distinctions of race which have been the prolific source of so much alienation and discord, to make the cross the centre of unity, around which all mankind are to gather, and in the light of which they are to see how closely they are allied to each other by the common Fatherhood of God, and the common brotherhood of Christ. The strongest distinction by which any portions of the human family were ever separated, was that between the Jews and Gentiles; but He, the great Reconciler, is "our peace, who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition, for to make in himself of twain *one new man*, so making peace." Christianity, in abolishing this greatest of all ethnical distinctions, has virtually, and as it were *a fortiori*, abolished all lesser ones; so that in its view "there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian nor Scythian, bond nor free." We cannot, therefore, but regard those who set themselves to aggravate and perpetuate to the utmost those tribal and national differences by which mankind have been so long and so bitterly estranged from each other, as setting themselves to oppose and frustrate one of the most characteristic and beneficent tendencies of the Christian religion.

We say, again, that bigoted attachment to the idea of nationality is opposed to the law of progressive civilization. All history proves that, in proportion as men are sunk in barbarism, has society among them a tendency to split into innumerable fragments; while, just in proportion as they rise in civilization, do they gravitate more and more towards unity. Savage tribes rarely consist of more than a few thousand persons. We should not wonder if there were even now among the scattered remnants of the North American Indians, more "nationalities" than there are in Europe. It is very certain, at any rate, that in Europe itself there was, a few centuries ago, and in an age we are wont to call uncivilized, or at most, semi-civilized, a far larger number of nationalities than there are now. Every considerable European nation in existence, if it were to resolve itself into its elements, would be found to be an amalgam of many formerly distinct races, assimilated and fused into one. From the dissolution of the Roman Empire until now, is there not visible "the operation of one centripetal law, in a perpetual effort towards the establishment of a wider and firmer basis of civil soci-

ety, and the composition of fewer and greater states and nations?" Is this to be counted an advantage or a disadvantage? Would it have been better for Europe, instead of having, as it now has, only at most ten or twelve separate nationalities, it were still divided into two or three hundred?

We contend, moreover, that the ideas of liberty and nationality, so far from being identical, are to a large extent antagonistic. To encourage the people everywhere, as is the fashion now, to struggle after a separate national existence, instead of trying to acquire freer political institutions under the governments actually ruling them, is to lure them into pursuit of a phantom at the expense of sacrificing substantial and attainable good. In the great majority of instances such an aim is simply and absurdly impracticable. For what is the principle that lies at the bottom of this doctrine of nationalities? We will answer in the language of Lord Stanley, beyond all comparison the ablest and most thoughtful of our rising statesmen. "The meaning of the doctrine of nationalities," says the noble lord, "was, that no race, however weak, however numerically small and inferior, ought to be subjected by another and stronger race." If this be a sound principle in political ethics, it ought, of course, to be universally enforced. But every man must see, with half an eye, that any attempt to enforce it universally would lead to the utter disintegration of every country in Europe. All states and all constitutions and political communities would have to be dissolved and reconstructed, and chaos would come again. In Great Britain we should have to give independence to Ireland, Scotland and Wales, and the Channel Islands. The empire of Russia would have to be broken up into six or eight fragments, according as the Russ, the Pole, the Teuton, the Finn, the Tartar, and nobody knows how many elements, predominated in particular provinces.

No mortal man can expect existing governments to submit to this repartition of their countries; and no man who is not utterly enamored of anarchy would desire to see it done, even if the governments were so weak as to consent. Those, therefore, who are trying by sentimental declamation about nationalities to precipitate races and peoples upon this path, are leading them into such a conflict with authority as must inevitably tend, not to an enlargement, but to a further restriction, of their liberties. This is just the history of the Polish, as of so many similar struggles. There can be no doubt that the present Emperor of Russia was disposed to rule the Poles leniently, and to grant them a large measure of constitutional freedom, if they had only been content to settle down as an integral portion of his empire. It is acknowledged that in many respects the Russian Poles were better treated than those in either Galicia or Posen. Poles were freely admitted into political offices. At the accession of the Emperor Alexander, a Council of State was erected at Warsaw, composed exclusively of Poles. He also gave his sanction to the creation of a University at Warsaw, and to a completely new and liberal system of public instruction for Poland, to be carried on *entirely* in the Polish language. He had, moreover, declared his intention to give a further development to liberal institutions in Poland; so that there was every prospect of the gradual establishment of a tolerably free system of government throughout the country. But all this availed nothing to the Poles without they could reconstitute their ancient nationality. They plunged, therefore, into conspiracies and insurrections, which led, of course, to an abridgement of their political rights, and the employment of military compression, and all those bloody severities that have scandalized Europe. But can those be said to be the true friends of the Poles, who, instead of permitting and encouraging them to accept the career that was placed before them, of becoming, on a footing of perfect equality, the members of a great empire, instigated them to as-

pire after an impracticable dream, in the pursuit of which they must inevitably hurl themselves against the iron rampart of Russia's enormous military power?

We must say, further, that there is an immense amount of affectation and incincerity about the outcry that is raised on the question of nationality. There is no country in Europe that can assume the championship of this cause without convicting itself of gross hypocrisy, just because there is none that can do it with clean hands. Let us cast a brief glance at some of the leading ones. Look at France. It is the pleasure of that nation to represent herself before Europe as the knight-errant of the oppressed nationalities, ready at any instant to rush to the rescue of whatever people is held in subjection by another people of a different race and language. It is gratifying indeed to find, from the recent utterances of many of the leading statesmen in her legislature, that she also is beginning to awake to a sense of the folly of this dangerous and costly Quixotism. But is the population of modern France and her dependencies so purely French as to give that country an unchallenged title to play this *role* among the nations? Not at all. To say nothing of her colonies in Algeria and Cochin China, and other parts of the world, where she holds down under her sway by mere dint of military occupation, races that own not the remotest kindred with her, and abhor her rule, we find among her European provinces some occupied by alien people, which she would nevertheless no more dream of surrendering to any other power than she would tolerate a proposal to restore Calais to England. Alsace and Lorraine are to this day far more German than French, while Nice and Savoy and Corsica are wholly Italian.

Then look at Germany. There are forty millions of Germans at this moment in a state of the wildest excitement, ready to precipitate Europe into a war, of indefinite extent and duration, because there are a few hundred thousand people speaking their language in danger of passing under the sceptre of Denmark. There is no pretence that the government of Denmark is oppressive and tyrannical. Whatever restrictions have been placed upon the rights of the inhabitants of Schleswig-Holstein are most likely the result of German agitation. In other respects the Danish constitution is far better than anything of the kind in Germany.

What is it, then, that drives our Teutonic friends frantic? Why, the question of nationality, simple and pure. Those few people on the other side of the Elbe are Germans. They belong, therefore, to the Fatherland, and it is an intolerable outrage upon all justice that they should be associated under the same government as the Danes, though in truth the Danes and Germans are generally the same people. Well, the reader will say, these zealous Teutonic purists are at least themselves quite free from the guilt of keeping any other people, not of their own race, in subjection under them. So far, otherwise, that there are at this moment large provinces belonging to Prussia and Austria peopled by races, between whom and the Germans there exists a far broader ethnical distinction than there is between the Germans and Danes. The former holds the Grand Duchy of Posen, where the population is so predominantly Polish, both in fact and feeling, that out of twenty-nine members returned from that province to the Chamber of Deputies, twenty-two are Poles. We need not say that Austria, the other great German Power, has under her sway no end of alien nationalities—Poles, Italians, Magyars, Croatsians, and half a dozen more. There is no sign whatever, so far as we know, that the conscience of the great German nation is at all disturbed or uneasy at these violations of the sacred principle of nationality. We have not heard from any of the eloquent patriots who have been inflaming themselves so violently against the Danish Government for wishing to attach to that monarchy some half a million of

their compatriots, the faintest hint given to Prussia and Austria, that *they* should let *their* oppressed go free. Nay, when united Germany, in 1848, and the Deputies of South Tyrol appeared before the Frankfort Parliament, which had summoned them, and respectfully remonstrated that they were Italians and not Germans, and therefore could have no business in an assembly professing to have been called together on purely national principles, that august assembly laughed their pretensions to scorn.

But of all the nations of Christendom, England has the least right to give herself airs of indignant and disinterested virtue on this question, just because no nation on the face of the earth has so little regarded any claim of nationality, however ancient, however widely different from her own, however passionately clung to by a people, when it has stood in the way of her own aggrandizement and ambition. As Lord Stanley said in the speech we have already cited, "the British empire in India is a standing protest against the principle of nationality. How can we, who uphold in India the most wide-spread despotism the world ever saw, say that we were too free, too liberal to tolerate the maintenance by any other government of a despotism consolidated by power? Any such attempt on our part would be received by Europe with ridicule and distrust." But it is not in India only, but in every quarter of the globe that we have walked over and trampled down struggling nationalities with the most sublime indifference to their remonstrances and struggles.

We affirm again that there is on all hands an enormous amount of barefaced hypocrisy and selfishness concealed under the high-sounding clamor raised about the so-called sacred principles of nationality. Even those who have appeared in modern times as its most heroic apostles, are found themselves, when their case is examined closely, not wholly guiltless of similar oppressions to those against which they have so loudly appealed to heaven and earth. The Hungarians are our very ideals of pure-minded patriots; but it is very certain that the Magyars, who represented Hungary to Europe, were only one of the several nationalities existing in that country, and that they, as the dominant race, had been accustomed to treat with great rigor the Slavonians, Croats, Wallachs, and Rusniacks, which constitute the other part of the population. They had not the smallest idea of respecting *their* independent nationality; and hence it was, as we all remember, that Austria succeeded in evoking and organizing against the Magyars some of the other tribes whom *they* had been wont to oppress.

It appears, indeed, that even in Schleswig-Holstein there is another race distinct from both Dane and German, namely, the Frisians, who seem to have an older right than either to the country. According to the *principle* of nationality, these ought to be independent of the other two; but we wonder how far the Schleswig-Holstein Germans would be inclined to respect *their* rights of nationality.

There is no end, indeed, to the anomalies and absurdities in which we are involved on this question. Not only does each country for its own convenience trample under foot the principles of nationality without the smallest compunction, while affecting the strongest indignation against other countries for doing the same; but we are taught to regulate our indignation even against those other countries in the most arbitrary manner. We have a most edifying illustration of this in reference to the races that inhabit the east of Europe. There, if anywhere, there is a real grievance in connection with this subject of nationality. For there we have European nations in subjection to an Asiatic power, utterly alien from them in all their feelings and habits; civilized races in subjection to a barbarous power that seems absolutely incapable of all progress and improvement; Christian races in subjection to a Mahomedan power that retains in full all

the brutal prejudices of its creed. But those are precisely the races with whose struggles to achieve their independence we are sternly forbidden to sympathize. "The dislike towards Greece on the part of Englishmen naturally reached its height during the frenzy of the Russian War. Diplomats had taught us that the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire was a political necessity, and men at once leaped to the conclusion that everything Turkish was to be loved, and everything Greek hated for its own sake; that the majority of Greeks sympathized with their co-religionists, the enemies of their enemies, though the mere result of the commonest laws of nature was set down as the sign of some monstrous national depravity. In all matters relating to Greeks and Turks, we reversed the rules by which our sympathies were guided in other parts of the world. Elsewhere our feelings always lay with the oppressed and against the oppressor; east of the Adriatic the sympathies of liberal England were bound to be with the oppressor and against his victim. Let Poland rebel against Russia, let Hungary or Italy rebel against Austria, and the cause was at once acknowledged as the cause of righteousness and freedom; but a Greek, an Albanian, a Bulgarian, who drew the sword against his Turkish master, was looked on as an ungrateful traitor, to be scourged back again into alliance to his lawful sovereign. Schamyl and his Circassians were heroes, patriots, martyrs for resisting the aggressions of the Muscovites; but the Vladika of Montenegro was a mere chief of rebels and brigands, for still keeping up the long battle of 500 years against the ceaseless aggressions of the Ottoman. To this day, if a Hellenic Garibaldi were to march to Larissa, and proclaim the independence of Thessaly, it would seem to all professional politicians to be an act of a wholly different kind from that which all liberal Europe applauded when a Bourbon, not an Ottoman, was the victim."—*Herald of Peace*.

VALUE OF A SOUL.—Our fault is, that we swell the importance of concerns merely temporal to an unmeasured size, and diminish those of eternity in the same proportion. How often do we hear it asserted, that the salvation of one immortal soul is an object of far greater importance than all the temporal concerns in the world, during all the ages of time! Nor did I ever hear this assertion condemned as false or extravagant. It is a matter of mathematical certainty, that one soul may enjoy a greater quantity, if I may so speak, of happiness, or endure a greater portion of misery, than the amount of happiness or misery yet experienced by the whole human race. Any certain degree of happiness or misery continued, and made absolutely eternal, will at length surpass, in quantity and importance, any given amount of happiness or misery. To show how this may be ascertained, let it be supposed that there have lived already one million of millions of human beings, which is probably ten times more than the real number, and let us suppose that they lived on an average thirty years apiece, which is far too large a calculation. The consequence will be, that one man who shall be happy or miserable, thirty millions of millions of years, will have enjoyed or suffered more than all the human race have yet enjoyed or suffered. Indeed, since I am on this speculation, suffer me to suppose that the number of years can be computed, and we can easily perceive that one immortal soul should overpass that period, and even double it a thousand and a thousand times, and still have an eternity before him. How important, then, is the destiny of one soul, and how do all concerns which are merely temporal, diminish before it! Let not these speculations be waived under the charge of *metaphysical*. They lie in the great lines of truth, and present before us a glimpse of our prospects.—*Whelpley's Letters to Gov. Strong*.

FACTS AND VIEWS ABOUT THE BEBELLION.

MISTAKES ABOUT THE EFFECT OF SECESSION.—Nearly the whole South were made by the ring-leaders of the rebellion to believe, that secession could never lead to Civil War. Some persons from the North, overtaken at the South by the rebellion, and recently escaped after nearly three years, state that the people of North Carolina in particular had no idea of its ever resulting in a strife of arms at their own doors. One of these refugees testified, "I heard a clergyman say in the pulpit that he *would guaranty to wipe up with his handkerchief all the blood that would be shed in this war!*" Other leading citizens said the hostilities, if there *were* any, would be confined to the Border States, and would not possibly reach North Carolina! In this way the people were led into secession."

It may be doubted whether the leaders themselves would, could they have foreseen what has come, have ever gone into it. They probably thought to frighten the government into a peaceful acquiescence in their demands, and staked everything upon the success of their menaces. One-half the wars recorded into history arose in very much the same way. 'You need only threaten *hard* enough, and your enemy, to avoid an appeal to the sword, will yield to your demands.' Each party reason in the same way, and thus both are driven, in the execution of their threats, into war against their own wishes. Had neither threatened, they might, probably would in most cases, have settled the dispute by amicable means. If they were not prepared for war, they would in nine cases out of ten do so with moral certainty. If the South had not been for twenty years preparing herself, more especially a few years immediately preceding the rebellion, to carry her points by the sword, she doubtless might, had the mass of her people, really desired it, have obtained in time a peaceful, bloodless separation. The result is a natural, legitimate, suicidal recoil of the war-system upon its supporters.

REBEL DESPERATION.—The rebellion is clearly becoming a real death-struggle. From the most reliable information, it seems that the rebels "are determined to regain, if possible, Kentucky and Tennessee; without these there can be no Confederacy. It is the intention to conscript all able-bodied persons, *without regard to age or condition*. Already it has begun; and men who have heretofore escaped the army, are now in the ranks. The case is desperate, and the leaders are aware of it. Invalids, or those not absolutely disabled for garrison duty, will be placed there. Negroes who can be trusted, will be armed, and fight *beside their masters*. They will not be trusted by companies or regiments in the field, and the forts will be manned entirely with negroes, commanded by white commissioned and non-commissioned officers. By this means they will be enabled to bring a large force into the field, and hope to drive the Union troops from Tennessee and Kentucky."

The rebels have obviously reached the point of utter desperation. Their leading organs in Richmond clamor loud for the strongest measures possible to recruit their army, and secure necessary supplies; such measures as would turn the rebel government into a sort of press-gang, and a set of brigands to plunder the people. The *Whig*, Dec. 12, 1863, says:—

“More than two weeks have elapsed since the enactment of the law for the increase of the army by *conscription*, and we have no knowledge that it has yet added a man to our forces in the field. Time is precious. We are outnumbered at all points. We hold our present positions with difficulty and uncertainty. The armies of the enemy, according to the late report of their Secretary of War, embrace over 800,000 men, and will soon number 1,000,000. These are fully armed and equipped. To meet such a force, as we will have to do in part this winter, and in full strength next spring, it is indispensable that we should have more men, and have them at once, that they may be prepared in time for the great day of trial. The conscription law must be enforced with all possible promptness, vigor and impartiality. Men of energy, firmness and integrity should be selected to act as enrolling officers, and they should receive everywhere the aid of all officers, both State and Confederate, and the support of the people. Every community should see to it that there are no skulkers in their midst. Public opinion, and, if that should be insufficient, the *posse comitatus* should bring out every man who is fit for duty, and subject under the law. We would recommend that the enrolling officers should be sent to counties and towns distant from their residences, so that they may have no occupation but the business of gathering the conscripts, no temptations to partiality, and no allurements to neglect of duty. We regard it as the imperative duty of the legislatures of the different States to pass such laws as will insure the application of an indubitably adequate amount of labor and means to the production of the necessities of life. Under the temptation of the present prices for tobacco and cotton, it is not safe to leave it to the choice of the planters to employ their lands and labor as they please.”

It is difficult to conceive how the rebel leaders can go much farther than this. It clearly is a dying effort to force into their service literally all the resources of the country in both men and means. And certainly they will do it, if they can, and they are plying every expedient within their reach for the purpose. So their chief virtually says in his late message.

MRS. STOWE ON THE REBELLION.—The revolution through which the American nation is passing is not a mere local convulsion. It is a war for a principle which concerns all mankind. It is the war for the rights of the working classes of mankind, as against the usurpation of privileged aristocracies. You can make nothing else out of it. That is the reason why, like a shaft of light in the judgment day, it has gone through all nations, dividing to the right and left the multitudes. For us and our cause, all the common working classes of Europe—all that toil, and sweat, and are oppressed. Against us, all privileged classes, nobles, princes, bankers, and great manufacturers, and all who live at ease. A silent instinct, piercing to the dividing of soul and spirit, joints and marrow, has gone through the earth, and sent every soul with instinctive certainty where it belongs. The poor laborers of Birmingham and Manchester, the poor silk weavers of Lyons, to whom our conflict has been present starvation and lingering

death, have stood bravely *for* us. No sophistries could blind or deceive *them*. They knew that *our* cause was *their* cause, and they have suffered their part heroically, as if fighting by our side because they knew that our victory was to be their victory. On the other side, all aristocrats and holders of exclusive privileges have felt the instinct of opposition, and the sympathy with struggling aristocracy; for they, too, feel that our victory will be for their doom.

VIEWS OF PATRIOTISM:

HOW ESTIMATED BY THE GOSPEL.—What is patriotism? The love of our country. But what love? The bigoted love cherished by the Jews, in the time of Jesus Christ, which impelled them to abominate every other nation as accursed, and to refuse to render them even the slightest good office? The proud love displayed by the Greeks, which despised the rest of mankind as ignorant barbarians? The ambitious love of conquest, that predominated among the Romans, and stimulated them to enslave the world? That selfish love, so much vaunted in modern times, which leads men to seek the aggrandizement of their country, regardless of the morality of the means by which that aggrandizement is to be accomplished; which fosters party spirit, engenders strife and every evil passion, encourages slavery, and excites one part of the human race to murder and extirpate the other? No; of this spirit Christianity knows nothing.—*Hartwell Horne*.

VALUE OF PATRIOTIC ENCOMIUMS.—With the rebels patriotism means rebellion; and the most determined and desperate fighter for its success is of course lauded to the skies. The rebel President in his late message, thus eulogises these men: "Our gallant defenders, now veterans, familiar with danger, hardened by exposure, and confident in themselves and their officers, endure privations with cheerful fortitude and welcome battle with alacrity. The assertion is believed to be fully justified, that, regarded as a whole, for character, valor, efficiency and patriotic devotion, our army has not been equalled by any like number of troops in the history of war. The *patriotism* of our people," he says in conclusion, "has proved equal to every sacrifice demanded by their country's need. We have been united as a people never were united under like circumstances before. God has blessed us with success disproportionate to our means, and, under His divine favor, our labors must at last be crowned with the reward due to men who have given all they possessed to the righteous defence of their inalienable rights, their homes and their altars."

Thus rebels talk; and what then is the moral value of patriotism? The rebel says he loves his country, and proves his sincerity by dying for it. Does this make him praiseworthy? Does the gospel anywhere eulogize mere patriotism, or promise it a reward in the day of final reckoning?

WHAT IS WASTED ON TOBACCO.—In the United States there is said to be consumed annually, \$47,000,000, which is at least three times the amount expended for religious purposes of every description, and fifty times the amount contributed by all denominations for foreign missions. How large a part of this sum is paid by professing Christians?

THE IMMORALITY OF THE WAR SYSTEM.

Look first at the means by which this system secures its victims. An army chaplain lets us a little into the secret of the process by which an army is replenished. We may be sure that from the hand of such an official the exposure is made as mildly and tenderly as possible. And yet what a revelation it is! "We have conversed," says he, "with a great many recruits, and we have met with only two or three young enthusiasts who had taken the shilling from the pure love of defending their Queen and country. The British army is much the same sort of rendezvous at the present day as the cave of Adullam in the old Jewish times; it may be said of the recruiting sergeant, as of David, 'Every one that is in distress, and every one that is in debt, and every one that is discontented, gather themselves unto him.' " And even to secure these requires infinite adroitness, wheedling and lying. "It requires," says the chaplain, "a certain amount of rhetoric to persuade a man that it is to his advantage to allow himself to be shot at for a shilling a day." The men selected as recruiting sergeants are thus characterized:—"It would be difficult to specify the exact qualities desiderated in such men. A good man will not accept such a field of labor unless it be forced upon him. It is the most demoralizing species of military duty. We have heard more than one declare, with bitter regret, that they would have been wiser and better men, if they had not been corrupted by being employed in recruiting. We had no reason to question their sincerity; a man cannot touch pitch without being defiled; a soldier cannot beat up the haunts of vice for recruits without becoming to a certain extent vicious himself. He usually puts up at some public-house, and there is a perfect understanding between him and the landlord. They deal with one another on the principle of reciprocity. The soldier undertakes to bring as much custom as he can to the landlord; and if he causes a reasonable quantity of drink to be consumed on the premises, he usually receives his board and lodging for nothing. There are always numbers of foolish lads who, without any idea of enlisting, think it manly to cultivate the society of the recruiting sergeant, and treat him to drink. He will drink with them, sing them his best songs, and tell them his best stories. *The man who cannot lie without a blush, will never do for the recruiting service! In this case the end is held to justify the means; and the recruiting sergeant will tell the most fearful lies without a blush.*"

Let us now follow the recruit after he has entered on his career of glory! Formerly the recruit was billeted on private individuals; but now he must be contented with his limited allowance of lodging-money, or with such limited accommodation as the recruiting sergeant can provide for him till he joins his regiment. "It is not unusual for some twenty or thirty recruits to be huddled together in one room; and the man of superior education is obliged to associate with tramps, thieves and other outcasts. *Here the process of corruption begins; and, as a period of six weeks often elapses before the recruit joins his regiment, if untainted before, he is soon initiated into vice, and has often to suffer its consequences in hospital.* In some regiments he receives half of his bounty-money after being attested; and this sum is usually spent in debauchery. The bounty-money varies in amount according to the demand for men. During the Crimean war, it rose as high as £5 or £6; a larger sum than most of the recruits had ever possessed before; and the possession of such a sum often leads to fearful scenes of debauchery and riot."

Let us follow the recruit next to camp or barracks. There he is further introduced to men practised in every form of debauchery and sin. The life

he leads has an exquisite fitness to prepare and incline such a man as he usually is, for the temptations that await him. Violent mechanical exercise is made to alternate with long intervals of idleness. He is forbidden to marry by the conditions of service. The moment he goes out of quarters, he finds himself in an atmosphere thick with the fumes of vice in its grossest forms, which camps and barracks have an unfailing power to create or attract around them. There is no imagination, not utterly depraved, but must reel and stagger backward at the first peep into that Pandemonium of pollution into which the unfortunate fellow now tumbles headlong, alas! with small hope of escape, until he is utterly ruined in body and soul.

"The case is all the worse," says the London Times, "because the men run their own heads into the mischief. It is literally a fact that at least one-third of all the sickness for which our soldiers and sailors at home are treated is created by acts of their own. In some instances the proportion is even higher than this. Indeed, though most readers will understand the magnitude of these particular liabilities, we shall probably startle them with the statistics actually compiled. No fewer than 422 men out of every 1,000 were sent into hospital in the year 1859, and 369 out of every 1,000 in the year following. At one of our chief naval ports, the invaliding from this peculiar cause reached 503 in 1,000, or, in other words, affected more than half of the entire garrison! Nor is this all; for the evil does not depart with the disorder, nor is convalescence equivalent to restored efficiency. Scrofula, paralysis, and consumption follow in the track of the original complaint; and hundreds of fine young men are discharged with broken constitutions, before they have repaid the cost of their training by any service whatever."

It is true that such evils exist elsewhere, but nowhere in such a concentrated and malignant form as they do here. Their influence contributes largely to corrupt the rest of the community. A camp or a barrack is a reservoir of vice which overflows the whole neighborhood in which it is planted. Already is society paying a frightful penalty, in morals and in health, for those large military establishments, over which it has become the fashion for even ministers of religion to crow with infinite complacency, as though they were high schools of religion and virtue! Soldiers are also placed in circumstances where everything concurs to aid their own depraved propensities in hurrying them on the downward path of sin. Withdrawn from the blessed and purifying influences of domestic life, removed out of the reach of any opinion likely to impose upon them a salutary restraint, thrown into the companionship of the vilest men and the vilest women, and doomed to a mode of life which gives to temptations, in themselves sufficient y strong, every conceivable advantage over their feeble virtue, it is difficult to imagine a conjuncture of conditions more perfectly adapted to secure their ruin.—*Her. of Peace.*

CASUALTIES OF WAR.—It was stated near the close of 1862, that "four clerks had been engaged over three months in the Surgeon General's office at Washington in compiling, in chronological order from official reports, a complete list of all the casualties since the outbreak of the war. The difficulties of the undertaking are so great, that they got through with the casualties of 1861 only about a week since. As the severest losses of life occurred in 1862, the list will not be completed for several months." We do not recollect to have seen the result of these investigations, but hope they will be continued to the close of the rebellion, and give us, if possible, a full account of its wide-spread and terrible casualties.

IDLENESS OF A SOLDIER'S LIFE.—If idleness leads or tempts to all sorts of vice and crime, war must in time flood our country with a vast multitude of evils. Such, however, are the usual well-nigh inevitable effects of military life everywhere. "We cannot conceive," says the *Times of India*, "a mode of life more injurious to physical and mental health and energy, than that of the British soldier in India. After the tiresome monotony of the morning he is, three days out of every four, left to his own devices for occupation or amusement, except at those hours when he has to attend the frequent roll calls which prevent his straying at any time very far from his barracks, or engaging in any continuous work. After his never-changing breakfast, thrown entirely on his own resources for employment, and virtually prevented from engaging in any useful or interesting work, he is driven to seek excitement or amusement in the neighboring bazaars, or to while away the tedious hours in enervating sleep. In each case the moral results are deplorable, idleness giving rise to frequent crime, eradicating every desire for natural labor and useful work, leaving the soldier, when his term of military service has expired, a useless, apathetic, discontented incumbrance upon the community, striving to eke out a life of sloth and intemperance upon the pittance granted by Government, with no ability and often with no desire to add to his own comfort, or to the general prosperity. Without some useful employment to occupy the time and thoughts of the soldier, there must remain in him a void of discontent and ennui, tending to lower his physical and mental health, and unfit him not only for present, but also for future exertion and good."

What will be the effect of military service upon the millions of our soldiers North and South, we cannot tell with certainty; but we have every reason to expect it will long be disastrous upon the general habits and welfare of the nation. The moral virus thus injected into its veins will pervade and poison its life-blood more or less for a whole generation, if not for long ages.

HARDENING EFFECT OF WAR UPON THE PUBLIC MIND.—There is a great deal of truth in what the *Friend* says on this aspect of our rebellion: "The evils inflicted upon a community by war are so numerous and so various, that it would be difficult to set them fully forth without writing a volume. In our own country we now feel them in many ways; it is perhaps not among the least of these evils, that scenes of horror and of blood become so common, during such a sanguinary contest as is going on in our land, that we are liable to have our finer feelings blunted by the recital of them; and, unless we are on the watch to fortify ourselves against the influence, our hearts may insensibly become somewhat callous to the sentiments of a tender humanity, and the emotions of Christian love. It becomes us all, however strong we may feel ourselves to be in Christian principles, to be on our guard lest this phase of evil resulting from war should insidiously encroach upon us, until we find that familiarity with human suffering has in some measure shorn it of its power to arouse our commiseration, and urge its claims upon our sympathy and benevolence."

OUR CAPACITY FOR DEBT.

This is the great practical question with modern statesmen; and ours seem delighted to find how much our people will bear. "One of the troubles," say they, "is the accumulation of an enormous national debt; but our ability to carry a great debt is quite equal to that of other nations. On the first day of February, 1863, our debt reached the sum of \$815,000,000. It is generally supposed that it will reach \$2,000,000,000. Even then it will be less, *per capita*, than the debt of Great Britain, and a little more than that of France. The following table (Hallet's Circular) gives the amount of the great public debts of the world, and the share of each to each of the population. Our own debt is estimated at the figure which it is supposed likely to attain:—

	POPULATION.	DEBT.	Debt per Capita.
United States,	31,443,322	\$2,000,000,000	\$63 1-2
Great Britain,	29,293,319	4,410,951,476	137
France,	37,382,225	1,905,926,999	51
Russia,	66,891,493	1,296,800,000	19 1-4
Austria,	35,018,988	1,195,118,428	34
Prussia,	17,739,913	382,362,963	21 1-2
Italy,	21,728,529	453,133,560	21
Spain,	16,464,340	700,551,497	45 1-2
Holland,	3,521,416	422,036,198	119 3-4
Turkey,	36,600,000	555,160,680	15

Estimating the real and personal property of the United States at \$16,-159,616,068, as by the census of 1860, a debt of 2,000,000,000, will be but 12 1-2 per cent. of that valuation; this exclusive of the value of the products of labor and of the cotton crop.

The comparative *annual expenditures* of Great Britain, France, and the United States, show just as favorably the ability of our nation to carry its burdens. We quote from another table, which "shows a comparative statement of the expenditures of France for the year 1862, of Great Britain and Ireland for the year ending March 31, 1862, and of the United States for the year ending June 30, 1862, with their respective burdens upon the people *per capita*."

ANNUAL INTEREST ON PUBLIC DEBT.

Great Britain.

On account of permanent debt,	£23,703,738
" terminable annuities,	1,837,968
" interest on exchequer bonds,	122,500
" " bond bills,	478,400
	Annual expense
Total interest on public debt,	£26,142,006 per cap.
In dollars,	\$127,131,492 \$4 34

France.

Interest on public debt,	£23,773,019
In dollars,	\$115,608,191 3 09

United States.

Interest of public debt,	\$13,109,324
Total population, 32,000,000	0 40
Loyal population, 23,328,000	0 63 1-2

This shows the present relative condition; but not when the whole coun-

try may be saddled with the debts which the rebels have accumulated, in their efforts to overthrow our government, and the repayment of which is sure to become one of the most vexed and exciting questions in our future politics.

EMANCIPATION AS A WAR-MEASURE.—Foreign sympathizers with our slave-mongering rebels have professed a horror at our President's Proclamation of Freedom to three millions of slaves, as a measure for crushing the rebellion, and restoring our government to its rightful authority over all the land. It seems, however, that England, in her war of 1812 with us, adopted the principle, and gloried in the fact.

A London paper of July, 1815, publishing a letter from an officer of the British frigate Loire, dated "Chesapeake Bay, May 14, 1814:—" Admiral Sir Alexander Cochrane has laid on an embargo, and has fortified an island fifty miles or more up the river for the reception of American slaves, who resort to us in great numbers. Our government furnishes them their freedom and protection. *It is certainly one of the noblest measures of war to break the fetters of the oppressed. In this instance we not only perform a most humane duty, but annoy the enemy greatly,* and probably supply our own colonies with numbers of useful laborers. Whole families come off together. Several flags of truce have been sent to the squadron. The Americans appear much altered and quite humbled."

Now, we hold war to be an unchristian means of securing any end, however commendable; but wherever it does any good, we must rejoice, and shall give it all the credit it may deserve. It certainly is a horrid way of doing good; not the way of Christ and his Apostles; and assuredly Christians ought to adopt a better one that shall secure the good without the evil.

WHERE THE CHIEF CREDIT IN WAR IS DUE.—It is to men in the ranks, though the high officers get nearly all of what is called glory in war. If there be *anything* in the eye of God worthy of his approval, it is found mainly in the rank and file. Gen. Burnside was as truthful as he was honest, in saying, at Cincinnati, Dec. 1863: "The chief praise of our success is due to the subordinate officers and men in the ranks. Thousands of men in the ranks deserve the credit that is given to the leaders. Many of them have no relations in this country—they fight for the country they love, being actuated by genuine patriotism. I owe all my success to this patriotism in the ranks, as also do all other generals who have been successful. The principal achievements of this war are to be credited chiefly to the subordinate officers and the devoted fighting men in the ranks, who endure all, and dare all, with little other object in view than the defence of our common country. I have never been more conscious of this fact than during my last campaign, and, for one, I shall never forget what is due to the men in the ranks."

HOW REBELS TREAT THEIR DESERTERS.—With a severity, a hundredfold greater than we do ours. "A few days," says a N. Y. paper, "before our informant left Richmond, seven were shot outside the city. The deserters are said to be mostly Irish and Germans, and are shot down like dogs."

BATTLES OF THE BIBLE.

BY S. S. WARDWELL, *Sec. Rhode Island Peace Society.*

1. Battle of the Vale of Siddim. A. M. 2092. B. C. 1912. The armies of four kings against the armies of five kings. The kings of Sodom and his confederates defeated. Lot, nephew of Abraham, taken prisoner.

2. Battle between Abram and his 318 men and the five kings. Lot is retaken and the forces of the kings defeated.

3. Battle of Rephidiam, between the Israelites and Amalekites. A. M. 2513. B. C. 1491. The Amalekites were defeated.

4. Battle between a portion of the Israelites and the Amalekites and Canaanites. A. M. 2515. B. C. 1489. The Israelites defeated.

5. Battle of Jahaz. A. M. 2553. B. C. 1451. Between the Israelites and the Amorites. The latter under the command of Sihon, their king, were defeated, and their country taken possession of.

6. Battle of Edrei. A. M. 2553. B. C. 1451. Between the Israelites and the forces of Og, the king of Bashan. Og was defeated, and his land conquered and possessed.

7. Battle of Midian. A. M. 2553. B. C. 1451. Between 12,000 Israelites and the armies of Midian. The Midianites were defeated with great slaughter. Five kings of Midian and Balaam, the prophet, were among the slain. The cities of Midian were burned, and 32,000 females taken prisoners. The Israelites also took 675,000 sheep, 72,000 beeves, and 31,000 asses.

8. First battle of Ai. Three thousand of the Israelites defeated by the men of Ai. Thirty-six of the Israelites slain.

9. Second battle of Ai. Between 30,000 Israelites under the command of Joshua and the men of Ai. The latter were defeated, and their city taken and destroyed. The king of Ai was taken prisoner and hung by order of Joshua. A. M. 2553. B. C. 1451.

10. Battle of Gibeon, same year as the preceding, between the Israelites under Joshua and five kings of Canaan and their armies. The latter were defeated with a great slaughter. The five kings were taken and hung.

11 to 15. Battles of Makkedah, Libnah, Lachish, Eglon, and Debic in all which the Israelites were victorious.

16. Battle of Merom, between the Israelites and a number of the kings of Canaan. The latter had a large force with many horses and chariots, but were totally routed by Joshua and his army. A. M. 2559. B. C. 1445.

17. Battle of Bezek. A. M. 2579. B. C. 1425. Between men of the tribes of Judah and Simeon and the Canaanites and Perizzites, in which the latter were defeated with the loss of 10,000 men. Adonibezek, their king, was taken prisoner and his thumbs and great toes were cut off.

18 to 25. Battles of Jerusalem, Hebron, Kujath-sepher, Zephath, Gaza, Askelon, Ekron, and Bethel. These places were all taken by the Israelites.

26. First battle between the Israelites and the tribe of Benjamin. A. M. 2591. B. C. 1413. The Israelites numbered 400,000 men; the tribe of Benjamin 26,700. The Israelites were defeated, losing 22,000 men.

27. Second battle between the same. The Israelites were again defeated, losing 18,000 men.

28. Third battle between the same. The Benjamites were totally routed with a loss of 25,100 men.

29. Battle of Jordan, A. M. 2661, B. C. 1343, between the Israelites and the Moabites in which the latter were defeated with the loss of 10,000 men.

30. Battle of Tabor. A. M. 2699. B. C. 1305. Between the Israelites under Barak and the army of Jabin, king of Hazor. This king had 900 chariots of iron, but was totally defeated by Barak with 10,000 men. Jabin was slain by Jael, the wife of Heber, while asleep after the battle.

31. Battle of Moreh. A. M. 3759. B. C. 1245. Between Gideon and his army of 300 men and the Midianites, in which the latter were defeated. Gideon had also the assistance of the Ephramites who were stationed at the fords of Jordan.

32. Battle of Shechem. A. M. 3769. B. C. 1335. Between Abimelech and his army and Gaal and the Shechemites, in which the latter were routed, and their city taken, beaten down, and sowed with salt.

33. Battle between Jephthah and his army of Israelites and the Ammonites. The latter were defeated with great slaughter and twenty of their cities were taken.

34 and 35. Battles of Aphek. A. M. 2888. B. C. 1116. Between the Israelites and the Philistines. The Israelites were defeated with the loss of 4000 men. A second battle was fought on a following day, and the Israelites were again defeated with a loss of 30,000 men, and the ark of God was taken by the Philistines.

36. Battle of Mizpeh. A. M. 2978. B. C. 1026. Between the Israelites and the Philistines. The latter were defeated.

37. Battle of Jabesh-gilead. A. M. 2909. B. C. 1095. Between the Israelites under the command of Saul and the Ammonites. The forces of Saul numbered 330,000, and the Ammonites were entirely routed. This battle lasted from early morn to noon.

38. Battle between the Israelites and Philistines commenced by Jonathan, son of Saul, and his armor-bearer, in which the Philistines were defeated. A. M. 2911. B. C. 1093.

39. Battle between Saul, king of Israel, and his army of 210,000 men, and the Amalekites. Same year as the preceding. The Amalekites destroyed except Agag, their king, who was afterwards slain by Samuel.

40. Battle and overthrow of the Philistines by the Israelites, after David had slain Goliath. A. M. 2941. B. C. 1063.

41. Battle of Keilah, between David and his men and the Philistines. The latter defeated.

42. Battle between David and 400 men, with the Amalekites. The latter defeated.

43. Battle of Mount Gilboa. A. M. 2949. B. C. 1055. Between the Israelites under Saul and the Philistines. The Israelites were defeated and Saul and three of his sons were slain.

44. Battle of Gibeon. M. M. 2951. B. C. 1053. Between the forces of David under Joab and the adherents of the house of Saul under Abner, in which the latter were defeated.

45. Battle of Rephaim, between the Israelites under David and the Philistines, in which the latter were defeated. A. M. 2957. B. C. 1047.

46. Battle between the Israelites under David and the king of Zobah, in which the latter was defeated. David took 1000 chariots, 700 horsemen, and 20,000 footmen. A. M. 2964. B. C. 1040.

47. Battle between the Israelites and Syrians. The latter defeated with the loss of 22,000 men. Same year as the preceding.

48. Battle between the Israelites and Edomites. The latter defeated, having 18,000 killed.

49. Battle between the Israelites under Joab and the Ammonites. The latter were assisted by 33,000 Syrians and others, but were defeated, losing 700 chariots and 40,000 horsemen. A. M. 2966. B. C. 1038.

50. Battle of Rabbah, between David and his forces and the Ammonites. The latter were defeated and the city of Rabbah taken.

51. Battle of the woods of Ephraim, between the forces of David under Joab and the forces of Absalom, who had rebelled against David, his father. Absalom was defeated and himself and 20,000 of his army slain. A. M. 2981. B. C. 1023.

52. THE GREAT BATTLE OF MOUNT EPHRAIM. A. M. 3046. B. C. 958. Between Abijah, king of Judah, with an army of 400,000 men and Jeroboam, king of Israel, with an army of 800,000. The latter was defeated with the loss of 500,000 killed. This is the greatest battle on record.

53. Great battle between Asa, king of Judah, with his army of 580,000 men, and the Ethiopians with an army of 1,000,000 men and 300 chariots, under command of Zerah, in which the latter were totally defeated. A. M. 3064.

54. Battle between the armies of the Moabites, Ammonites and others. These armies had come up against Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, but the Lord set them against each other and they slew one another; while all that Jehoshaphat had to do was to appoint singers to praise the Lord, and to stand still with his army and behold the destruction of their enemies. A. M. 3108. B. C. 896.

55. Battle between the Israelites and Syrians, near Samaria, in which the latter were defeated. A. M. 3103. B. C. 901.

56. Another battle at Aphek, between the Israelites and Syrians. The latter defeated. A. M. 3104. B. C. 900.

57. Battle of Ramoth Gilead. A. M. 3107. B. C. 897. Between the Israelites, under king Ahab, assisted by Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, and the Syrians. The Israelites were defeated and Ahab was slain.

58. Battle between the Israelites under king Jehoram, assisted by the kings of Judah and Edom, and the Moabites. The Moabites were defeated. A. M. 3109. B. C. 895.

59. Battle between Jehoram, king of Judah, and his army, and the Edomites. The latter defeated. A. M. 3119. B. C. 885.

60. Battle in the Valley of Salt, between Amaziah, king of Judah, and his army, with the children of Seir. The latter defeated with a loss of 10,000 men. Ten thousand prisoners were taken by Amaziah and put to death, by casting them from a rock. A. M. 3105. B. C. 839.

61. Battle between Amaziah, king of Judah, and Jehoash, king of Israel, and their armies. Amaziah was defeated and taken prisoner. A. M. 3178. B. C. 826.

62. Battle between the armies of Judah and Israel. The Israelites under Pekah defeated the army of Judah, slew 120,000 and took 200,000 prisoners. A. M. 3263. B. C. 741.

63. Battle between Josiah, king of Judah, and Necho, king of Egypt, and their armies. Josiah was defeated and killed. A. M. 3394. B. C. 610.

BLOCKADE RUNNING A BAD SPECULATION.—Some of the heaviest British firms, sympathizing with the rebels and engaged in this business, have been carried down in bad failures. It is known that, on the whole, the speculations founded on the violations of the blockade have been uncommonly disastrous. With some exceptions every valuable steamer and every cargo of importance have proved a loss to the British owners. Nearly a dozen fine steamers have been taken and turned over to our own navy, and since been successful in capturing their former comrades.

WHAT ROYALTY COSTS.—If you have luxuries, you must pay for them; and surely the English people pay roundly for theirs. We think taxes roll up here rapidly; but our Presidents and Governors at least do not go on *ad infinitum*, begetting children, and giving them in marriage, at the expense of public subsidies. What we should do, if they did, would be difficult to determine. Prince Albert, having attained his majority, and entered upon his hereditament, the duchy of Cornwall, was married to the Princess Alexandra of Denmark, to the manifest joy of the English nation. Prince Albert undoubtedly ought to have a fair outfit; and, if he lives to disappoint the reversion of \$150,000 a year, voted by Parliament to his wife in case he dies, will be king of England in good time. But the income of the duchy of Cornwall is only \$300,000 per annum, and one sees clearly what desperate shifts the young man must have had to make to live on *that* sum! So Parliament, at the suggestion of Lord Palmerston, humbly petitioned the Queen to *allow* \$200,000 per annum in *addition*, with an annuity to his wife of \$50,000, making *only* about \$2,000 per day for their little expenses! The late Prince Consort, who was a prudent man, laid up from *his* allowance about \$5,000,000, which a Yankee might naturally suppose would go to his children. By and by, no doubt, Prince Albert will be favored with children, at a cost to the nation of about \$50,000 a year each, all which will throw loyal England into ecstasies, the groans of the tax-payers being drowned in the general acclamation. Why, the Prince of Wales might hand the amount of Gov. Andrew's salary to beggars upon the sidewalk every Saturday night, and not feel it. We hope *our* people won't grumble any more over war-taxes.—Exch.

EMIGRATION TO AMERICA.—It seems the people of Europe are flocking more and more to our shores, in spite of the aristocrats there, and all the predictions by the latter of disaster and ruin to our country. To the single port of New York have come the very last year enough to people a very respectable State—from Ireland, 92,681; from Germany, 38,236; from England, 18,252; from Scotland, 1944. Total, 155,223. In 1862, the total number was 76,206, showing an increase during the past twelve months of 78,917; more than double.

HOW SOLDIERS PLUNDER.—It is vain to think of restraining an army from deeds of plunder. Our own troops are no exception to the general rule; and how they often, if not habitually, make havoc of property, we see in a letter from a private who was concerned, with others, in plundering the plantation of Gen. Taylor, our former President:—

"It is one of the most splendid plantations that I ever saw. There are on it 700 acres of sugar-cane. I wish you could have seen the soldiers plunder this plantation. After the stock was driven off, the boys began by ordering the slaves to bring out everything there was to eat and drink. They brought out hundreds of bottles of wine, eggs, preserved figs and peaches, turkeys, chickens, and honey in any quantity.

"You and every one may be thankful that you are out of the reach of plundering armies. Here are whole families of women and children running in the woods, large plantations entirely deserted, nothing left except slaves too old to run away, all kinds of the best mahogany furniture broken to pieces. Nothing is respected."

PRESENT LOANS IN EUROPE.—There are said now to be open the following :—The Germanic Diet asks for 17,000,000 florins (42,500,000fr.); Russia, 50,000,000 roubles (200,000,000fr.)—she *wants* 200,000,000 rouble.; Austria, 100,000,000 florins (250,000,000fr.); Spain, 300,000,000 reals (75,000,000fr.); Italy, 200,000,000fr., the balance of the last loan; Sweden, 33,000,000 rix dollars (181,500,000 fr.); Denmark, 10,000,000 thalers (37,500,000fr.); Prussia, 14,000,000 thalers (52,500,000fr.); and Greece, 2,000,000fr. The above does not include the smaller states of Germany, which will each require a few millions. General Ludwig has already asked the Baden Chambers for 2,300,000 florins (5,750,000fr.), which must be raised by borrowing. The sums mentioned above form a total of about 1,000,000,000fr., or about \$200,000,000.

NOTICES.

THE DESTRUCTION OF KAGOSIMA, and our Intercourse with Japan. By HENRY RICHARD, London.

A fair, able and altogether unanswerable exposure of the insolent, remorseless treatment shown by Englishmen and the British Government towards Japan. It would be difficult to find in all history a piece of meaner, more reckless, or more inexcusable cruelty. Mr. Richard allows the culprits no escape; for in every case he drives the nail to the head, and then clinches and rivets it by quoting book and page for all his statements. We admire the prompt, fearless fidelity that thus arraigns before the bar of public opinion the perpetrators of so gross an outrage on the so-called Christian civilization of the nineteenth century. If England does not repudiate and rebuke the deed, she ought to be put by common consent back with the Goths and Vandals, the Turks and Tartars of a by-gone age. Seldom did any of them do worse; and if there be not Christianity enough there to prevent a repetition of such outrages, let her recall her foreign missionaries, and set them all at work in reforming her own people at home.

Is England, however, alone chargeable with such outrages? Alas! we fear that nothing but lack of power and opportunity keeps any government in Christendom from committing like deeds under similar temptations. *Christian governments!* We doubt whether there is on earth a single one that really deserves the name by honestly taking the gospel for the guidance of its conduct either at home or abroad. How have we treated the Indian, the African, the Mexican? What, for the most part, has been the course of nominally Christian governments all over this western world but a tissue of atrocities of which even a savage might well be ashamed? England is not—would to God she were!—the only wholesale pirate and brigand issuing from Christendom to seize and subdue, to rob, ravage and murder at will the weak and defenceless, making the Christian name a terror, a bye-word, a hissing, and a scorn all over the earth.

ENGLAND AS A PEACE-MAKER: or, *What England, or the People of England, may do to shorten the duration of the present War in America, and to prevent Wars.* BY E. G. ROBBINS: New York, W. B. Brown & Co.—These fifty-two octavo pages, designed originally as a series of lectures to be delivered in England, contain a variety of pertinent and valuable facts, arguments, and illustrations. We shall hereafter lay it under contribution to our pages

THE MONROE DOCTRINE. BY JOSHUA LEAVITT. Sinclair Tousey, N. York.—A very able and statesmanlike document; a discussion that more nearly exhausts the subject than any one we have yet seen, and that deserves to be read and pondered by every friend of either freedom or humanity. It does not profess our principles, and assumes positions which we could not endorse; but its general drift is in the direction of our own views, and advocates a policy, a system of American diplomacy, in distinction from that of the Old World, calculated, as we conceive, to insure general peace on this continent, and avert the dangers of war from Europe. Dr. Leavitt has done a valuable service. We shall call up the subject at another time.

POSTSCRIPTS FROM CONTRIBUTORS.—What a curse to this world is war! What untold misery, desolation, and havoc it produces! What destruction of life, property, and happiness ever follows in its train! The spirit of war would seem to be the very atmosphere and element of hell. What a blessed thing then is peace!

To secure this great boon, however, shall we yield to injustice and wrong without rebuke or resistance? I profess to be a friend of union and liberty, who would bid God-speed to Abraham Lincoln, and all associated with him in support of a just government, and in securing the liberty of an oppressed and enslaved people. We believe this to be in perfect harmony with the principles of the Peace Society, whose main object is to do away all war among nations, by promoting such a public sentiment throughout the civilized world as shall secure national treaties, obligating the parties to settle all disputes, in the last resort, by mutual friendly arbitration. (\$3 00.)

J. M. L.

Another.—I see no failure in our old arguments in favor of the received peace principle. It is both the letter and spirit of the New Testament. It was followed by the primitive Christians. It is philosophical as well as evangelical, and has proved eminently safe to those individuals and communities who have followed it. But there is another great law of the universe, *Retribution*: "Though hand join in hand, the wicked shall not be unpunished." Now, there never has been a nation under heaven which has sinned, either with so malignant a spirit, or on so tremendous a scale, as our nation has sinned against the negro, nominally free as well as bond. It has been the voice of all parties, as well as Judge Taney, that "the negro has no rights which a white man is bound to respect." The nation has stood with its sword over these four millions, to support the despotism of the masters, and the religious community have been equally guilty.

(\$2 00.)

B. C.

Another.—I hope the Peace Society will be able to persevere in its good work. I believe that peace principles *must* prevail before the world can be converted to Christ. (\$10 00.)

E. C.

From an eminent Author and Educator.—Hold on with courage, and times will bravely change ere long. (\$10 00.)

L. P. H.

Still Another.—I believe the aims and principles of the A. P. S. are reasonable and just, and will eventually be acknowledged to be so by a great portion of the human family, and the practice of war for the settlement of disputes among nations, be regarded as an amazing folly. Hold on; day appears after increasing darkness. (\$5 00.)

P. V. N. M.

One Specimen more.—A promissory note, dated Jan. 11, 1864, not immediately payable, but sure in time, for FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS, "to be added to the Permanent Fund." ~~It~~ Not by any means all the giver has done.

RECEIPTS.


Philadelphia, Dr. H. Malcolm,	20 90	Georgetown, H. P. Chaplin,	2 00
Boston, G. C. Beckwith,	300 00	Others,	6 00 8 00
Cambridge, J. E. Worcester,	67 50	Exeter, N. H., C. G. Odiorne,	5 00
Syracuse, N. Y., Ira H. Cobb,	5 00	W. Odlin,	3 00
Poughkeepsie, N. Y., M. Vassar,	10 00	C. Gilman,	1 00 9 00
Dedham, Dr. Burgess,	10 00	Derham, N. H., G. W. Frost,	2 00
James Downing,	5 00 15 00	Benj. Thompson,	5 00 7 00
Lawrence, T. B. Coolidge,	3 00	Dover, N. H., A. A. Tufts,	10 00
Mathuen, Jno. Davis,	2 00	W. Woodman,	2 00
J. F. Ingalls,	2 00	C. Cushing,	3 00 15 00
Others,	4 40 8 40	Gt. Falls, T. B. Moses,	1 00
Nashua, N. H., J. Crosby,	2 00	Portland, Me., R. Horton,	2 00
J. D. Otterson,	2 00	Others,	3 00 5 00
Franklin Munroe,	2 00 6 00	Lewiston, Me., John Goss,	2 00
So. Dedham, C. G. Morse,	5 00	J. W. Perkins,	2 00
Otis Morse,	2 00	E. P. Tobie,	1 00 5 00
Others \$1 each,	3 00 10 00	Ray, Mich., C. Ridway,	1 00
Sharon, Saml. D. Hewins,	5 00	No. Abington, Josiah Shaw,	2 00
Benj. Ide,	2 00 7 00	Others,	2 00 4 00
Stoughton, Eben. Drake,	1 00	Abington, Z. Nash,	2 00
Foxborough, Jas. Daniels,	4 00	Z. Torrey,	3 00
Others:	3 00 7 00	Others,	1 25 6 25
Uxbridge, W. C. Capron,	5 00	No. Bridgewater,	3 00
G. A. Wheelock,	2 00	Campello, Bela Keith,	2 00
Others,	2 00 9 00	Others,	2 00 4 00
Slater'sville, R. I., A. Holman,	3 00	E. Bridgewater, Jno. Soule,	4 00
Woonsocket, R. I., Mrs. J. Osborne,	5 00	Others, \$1 each,	4 00 8 00
Blackstone, E. Lamb,	5 00	So. Abington, L. B. Noyes,	1 00
Providence, R. I., O. Brown Fund,		E. Abington,	2 50
by Dr. Saml. Boyd Tobey,	50 00	Weymouth, Dr. Fifield,	2 50
A. C. Barstow,	5 00	A. N. Hunt,	2 00 4 50
Benj. White,	3 00	Braintree, A. Morrison,	2 00
S. S. Wardwell,	2 00	N. Weymouth, P. Blanchard,	2 00
W. S. Greene,	2 00	James Torrey,	2 00
Gilbert Congdon,	3 00	L. Torrey,	1 00 5 00
Others, \$1 each,	2 00 67 00	E. Weymouth, S. Canterbury,	1 00
Taunton,	2 50	S. Weymouth, Quincy Loud,	2 50
New Bedford, S. Rodman,	10 00	Others,	2 00 4 50
Thos. Mandell,	5 00	Townsend, E. Spaulding,	5 00
D. R. Greene,	5 00	L. F. Warner,	2 00
W. C. Taber,	5 00	John Proctor,	2 00
W. P. Howland,	3 00	Others, \$1 each,	2 00 11 00
P. Anthony,	2 00	Independence, Iowa, S. W. Noyes,	2 00
Others, \$1 each,	2 00 36 00	Westminister, Aaron Wood,	2 00
Sandwich, W. Fessenden,	2 00	Others,	1 75 3 75
Others, \$1 each,	5 50 7 50	Fitchburg, Benj. Snow,	5 00
Reading, Eben. Emerson,	2 00	S. M. Dole,	3 00
Wm. Parker,	2 00	T. R. Boutelle,	2 00
Others,	1 50 5 50	David Boutelle,	2 00
Stoneham,	2 25	Thomas Eaton,	2 00
So. Reading, Jas. Steele,	1 00	E. Torrey,	2 00
Andover, John Smith,	5 00	Benj. Snow, jr.,	2 00
Herman Abbott,	2 00 7 00	J. Hartwell,	2 00
Bradford,	2 00	Amos Durant,	1 50
Haverhill, Saml. Chase,	3 00	Others, \$1 each,	10 00 31 50
J. H. Duncan,	2 00	Leominster, Merritt Wood,	5 00
Others, \$1 each,	2 00 7 00	L. Burage,	4 00


Leominster, Isaac Cowdrey, 2 00	Winthrop, H. Woodward, 2 00
Ward Cotton, 2 00	Others, 4 00 10 00
W. Durant, 1 50	Pittsford, Vt., S. Penfield, 3 00
Others, \$1 each, 6 00 20 50	Dr. Walker, 1 00
Walpole, N. H., S. N. Perry 50 00	Joseph Penfield, 1 00
Lancaster, C. F. Symmes, 4 00	Mrs. Manly, 2 00
Marcus Ames, 2 00	Judge Kellogg, 2 00
Clinton, C. F. W. Parker 2 00	Others, \$1 each, 5 00 14 00
W. Boylston 2 00	Auburn, N. H., Jas. Holmes, 2 00
Keene, N. H., Danl. Adams, 3 00	Benj. Chase, 2 00 4 00
John Prentiss, 3 00	New Milford, Ct., D. C. Sanford, 5 00
Geo. Tilden, 2 00	Geneva, N. Y., Estate of the late
Others, \$1 each, 3 00 11 00	Henry Dwight, by E. Dwight, 280 00
Brattleboro', Vt., N. B. Williston, 7 00	Titusville, Pa., W. F. Root, 2 00
A. VanDorn, 5 00	E. Wilson, N. Y., H. Halsey, 1 00
Clark Jacobs, 5 00	Nelson, N. Y., James L. Bishop, 6 00
H. Hadley, 2 00	W. Meriden, Ct., Edmund Tuthill, 5 00
Others, \$1 each, 4 00 23 00	New Britain, Ct., N. W. Stanley, 10 00
Greenfield, S. O. Lamb, 1 00	Holland Patent, N. Y., W. P. Rollo 1 00
Shelburne Falls, N. Lamson, 23 00	Vienna, Wis., M. R. Britten, 1 00
A. Ritchie, 2 00	Sherwood, N. Y., F. F. Talcott, 1 00
Others, 2 00 27 50	Slocomb Howland, 5 00 6 00
Sunderland, Saml. Ware, 3 00	Lowell, Saml. Kidder, 2 00
Z. Hunt, 1 50	Farmington Ct., A. Thompson, 5 00
Others, \$1 each, 2 00 6 50	Wm. Ladd Estate, by A. Walker, Receiver, 300 00
Amherst, Judge Dickinson, 2 00	Seneca Falls, N. Y., H. W. Jones 2 00
Prof. Snell, 5 00 7 00	Leoni, Mich., W. W. Crane, 1 15
Northampton, J. D. Whitney, 5 00	Bangor, Me., S. H. Dale, 1 00
E. Hampton, H. G. Knight, 10 00	N. London, Ct., Ezra Chappell 3 00
E. H. Sawyer, 5 00	Westown, Pa., Dubree Knight, 1 00
L. Wright, 2 00	Scotland, Jas. M. Leonard, 2 00
Others, 2 00 19 00	Schenectady, N. Y., Pres. Hickck 10 00
Chicopee Falls, Elias Carter, 10 00	Buskirk's Bridge, N. Y., P. V. N. Morris, 5 00
Others, \$1 each, 2 00 12 00	Abington, Ct., E. Lord, 2 00
Springfield, Geo. Merriam, 5 00	R. D. Sharp, 1 00 3 00
W. Brookfield, C. Gilbert, 2 00	Springfield, Ill., A. Hale, 1 00
Aretas Gilbert, 1 50	Coventry, N. Y., Clark Smith, 2 00
A. White, 2 00	D. P. Phillips, 2 00
Baxter Ellis, 3 00	Eliza A. Hoyt, 1 00 5 00
Others, 2 00 10 50	Camden, Me., A. Buchanan, 3 00
Bath, Me., Chas. Crooker, 5 00	Middleburg, Vt., Col. S. W. Boardman, 21 00 24 00
G. W. Duncan, 5 00	Peterborough, N. Y., Geritt Smith, 20 00
J. B. Swanton, 5 00	Glastenbury, Vt., Geo. Plummer, 2 00
O. R. Mitchell, 2 00	FitzWilliam, N. H., J. Harris, 1 00
John Shaw, 2 00	R. B. Philips, 2 00 3 00
Chas. Davenport, 2 00	Jewett City, Ct., T. L. Shipman, 1 00
Others, \$1 each, 2 00 23 00	Grinnell, Iowa, C. L. Rouse, 1 00
Brunswick, Me., Prof. Upham, 5 00	Lyme, N. H., Anson Southard, 2 00
Others: \$1 each, 3 00 8 00	Rome, N. Y., Speucer Allen, 3 00
Hallowell, Me., S. Page, 3 00	Heneoye Falls, N. Y., R. H. Lee, 3 00
S. Swanton, 2 00	Conway, N. H., R. M. Colby, 2 00
Others, \$1 each, 6 00 11 00	
Winthrop, Judge May, 2 00	
Eben Shaw, 2 00	


\$1,765 80

ANNIVERSARY.—The Society's Annual Meeting will be held in the Congregational Library Building, May 23, at 3 P. M., to hear the Annual Reports, elect officers, etc.

W. C. BROWN, Rec. Sec.

 **TO EDITORS**—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.


 **TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL**—the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

 Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 768.	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 190,	75
Book of Peace, 1mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252,	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212,	25
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108	20
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier, 16 mo., pp. 304. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310,	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond. 8vo., pp. 168.	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.,	20
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2 50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12,	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.	5
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts.	

FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. —  Be very careful to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested by the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your purpose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE.—The law allows only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may be addressed all communications designed for the Society.

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

MAY AND JUNE.

CONTENTS.

Anniversary	53	Is that Mother? Dying Soldier boy ..	74
Report	53	Importance of our present Crisis.....	74
Finances	56	Emancipation	74
Permanent Fund.....	56	Atrocities of our Rebellion.....	75
Ladd Legacy	57	Fort Pillow Massacre	75
Annual Meeting.....	60	Character of Forrest, Captor of	
Officers	61	Fort Pillow	78
Treasurer's Report	62	Recoil of Secessionism	78
Criticism of our Course	62	Moral Evils of our War	79
Collision with England	65	Illustration of the War-Principle. ...	80
Sad Memorials of War	66	Food for the Mind	80
Who responsible for the Evils of		Pivot of the Rebellion	81
our War	67	Reforms effected by a few	81
Spirit of the Rebellion.....	67	War never a Source of General Pros-	
Female Rebels	67	perity	82
Rebel Warfare	67	Increase of our Navy	82
Plea for Assassination.	68	Fighting Resources of the North.....	82
New States and Territories	69	Extension of Railways.....	83
Resources of America.	69	Exchange of Prisoners.....	83
Dunkards	70	Philanthropy called forth by the War	83
North and South in contrast.....	71	Losses of the Potomac Army.....	83
Neal Dow on the South.....	71	Liverpool Peace Society.....	84
Rebel loss at Chickamauga.....	73	Expense of European Armies.....	84
Wellington on Victory.....	74	When will the War end?.....	84
What deeds commended in War.....	74		

 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.

1864.

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MAY AND JUNE, 1864.

ANNIVERSARY OF THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

R E P O R T.

THE lapse of another year finds us still in the midst of a rebellion the most gigantic and atrocious the world ever saw ; a rebellion for which no excuse can be pleaded that would not outrage every dictate of justice and humanity ; a rebellion that seeks, at all hazards, to establish in the land of Washington a slave empire that might eventually dominate our continent, and cover it through all coming time with the abhorred and baleful system of human bondage.

An event so strange and startling would of course put our cause to a test extremely severe ; but we met it with an unexpected degree of unanimity, by simply re-asserting the principles and policy we had adopted from the first. In a little more than a month after our rebels opened their fire upon Fort Sumter, and thus dared our government to the fearful struggle that has since raged for more than three years, our friends were called together for a free interchange of views ; and the result of this and subsequent consultations has been to render us well-nigh unanimous respecting the course we have pursued.

It should be borne in mind, then, that the positions taken by us throughout this fearful crisis have none of them been new, but only such as we had distinctly avowed from the start. We see no reason to change any of them ; and the terrible experience through which we are now

passing, has just served to confirm the correctness of our principles and the wisdom of our measures. Our only regret has been, that they had not been adopted in season to avert, as they undoubtedly would have averted, the deluge of evils since poured all over our land. This bitter experience is making us still stronger peace men in every respect. It constrains us to regard, more than ever, the whole war-system as incompatible with our religion of peace ; a blind, fortuitous appeal to mere brute force, that can have in itself no power or tendency to insure either justice or safety. This system, the great folly, crime and curse of all nations from time immemorial, we seek, as the sole aim of our cause, to do away by the introduction of far better means for the settlement of their disputes, and the regulation of their entire intercourse. We urge them to adopt among themselves essentially the same methods of justice that every civilized community has provided for the decision of controversies, the regulation of intercourse, and the security of rights between individuals and all minor communities. We restrict our efforts to *the intercourse of nations* for this single specific purpose, and urge them to supersede the sword by some rational, peaceful system, like that of laws and courts, which shall more surely accomplish its great ends of international justice and safety.

Such is our precise and sole mission ; but in prosecuting it, we incidentally recognise, as even Quakers, and all reasonable peace men do, civil government, as an ordinance of God necessary for the welfare, if not for the very existence of human society. It comes not within our province to decide upon its rights or its duties in general, and say what laws it shall enact, or how it shall execute them ; what penalties it shall affix to crime, or how inflict them upon offenders ; how it shall suppress a mob, an insurrection, or a rebellion ; by what specific means it shall enforce any of its laws, and maintain its rightful, indispensable authority ; how a people, deprived of their rights, shall regain and preserve them, or in what way a controversy between a government and its own subjects shall be adjusted.

Such questions we have always treated as lying outside of our province, and have consequently left our co-workers, each on his own responsibility alone, to settle them for himself. However he may decide, we have no responsibility for his decision. We merely abstain from any interference with government in dealing with own its subjects ; but, as believers in its legitimate authority, we must of course recognize its right to enact laws, and to put them in execution. It *must* have this right as essential to its very existence. If it may *not* do this, it is in truth

no government at all ; and, if we deny it such right, it is a delusion and a mockery to say we are supporters of government. Such a denial would make it a practical nullity. It *must* enforce law, or it ceases to be a government. It must also be allowed, at discretion, to use all the force it may find necessary for this purpose. Whether one man or a million transgress, the law must, in each case alike, be put in execution ; and whether a single constable, a posse-comitatus or an army of half a million, are employed in bringing the offenders to condign punishment, and thus restoring society to peace and order, it is in principle the same thing. It is a legitimate, indispensable enforcement of lawful authority.

So everybody would regard it in all ordinary cases. The efforts made last summer to put down mobs in Boston and New York by a military police, were confessedly as legitimate and necessary an exercise of authority, as would be the arrest and condemnation of any single burglar, incendiary or murderer. It was magistracy dealing with offenders, a process of civil justice. Just so our national Government, by its immense forces mustered to suppress rebellion, has attempted nothing more than an enforcement of law in the prescribed way against its violators. How far it may have erred in its manner of doing this, we will not say ; but if ours be a real effective government, it must have the right at discretion to execute its own laws. Nothing can be plainer. We may, indeed, call this war if we choose ; but, if so, then all enforcement of law, and all government, must, on this principle, be regarded as war. We doubt the propriety of stigmatizing as an act of war *any* rightful enforcement of law ; and certainly such enforcement is no part of the war-system, which the friends of peace have united to do away. We never pledged ourselves to oppose the enforcement of law. On the contrary, WILLIAM LADD, the founder of our Society, used to say, ' We oppose not the sword of the magistrate, but only the sword of war ; ' not the legitimate operations of government in enforcing its laws against its own subjects ; but the practice of governments attempting to settle their disputes with each other by fighting ; and on the same principle, our Society has abstained in the present case from interfering, — except by the use to advance of its utmost influence, to dissuade the parties from appealing in any event to the sword, — with the efforts of our own government to enforce its laws against rebels banded for their wholesale violation, and for the permanent overthrow of its authority. No words can fully express our regret that legal, peaceful means alone, were not resorted to for a settlement of the points in dispute. Our government, indeed, was willing and anxious for such a settlement ; but the rebels, spurning such

an appeal to law and reason, insisted on having their own way at all hazards, and thus precipitated the terrible conflict that has so long drenched our land in fraternal blood.

During the progress of such a conflict, it would of course be vain to think of securing a general attention to our cause, and our principles would not allow us to interfere with the efforts of our government for the enforcement of its laws as well against rebels as against any other class of offenders. Yet deeming our cause, in view of the vast evils now upon us, prospectively more important than ever, we have endeavored, as far as possible, to keep it alive through this fearful crisis. And our success, though small, has been much better than our fears. This hour of our trial has sifted the chaff from the wheat, and shown on whom alone our cause can depend alike in sunshine and in storm. From those who have been wont to take only a superficial view of its claims, we have seldom in this crisis asked any aid; but its well-informed supporters, with few exceptions, have fully sympathized with our views of its growing importance, and cheerfully continued, sometimes increased, the support of former years. To such friends our special thanks are due; for they have enabled us not only to maintain the Society's office, but to issue regularly its ordinary publications, and to keep our great object still before the public, chiefly through our higher seminaries of learning, and the leading periodicals of our country.

FINANCES.—Our receipts the past year have been \$2,458.44, and disbursements \$2,841.07, leaving a deficiency of \$382.63 against the Society. For seventeen years before, from 1846 to 1863, we kept the balance uniformly on the right side of the ledger; and we deem it a matter of congratulation, that we have been able to pass through three years of such a crisis as is now upon us, with our finances in a condition so favorable. We certainly ought to thank God, and take new courage and hope.

PERMANENT FUND.—In this department we have been successful the past year much beyond our expectations, having received reliable pledges to the amount of \$5,500. Though not available to meet our current wants, we deem them sure in time for the object of this fund, the perpetuation and permanent support of our cause. One of the original conditions of the fund was, that such pledges would be accepted in either money, promissory notes, or any other form ultimately reliable for our purpose; and it may be proper here to say, for the encouragement of our friends, that we are already apprised of still larger sums prospectively secured for this long neglected enterprise.

LADD LEGACY.—Our friends have not forgotten the liberality of William Ladd, in bequeathing to our Society, which he used to call his “only daughter,” the greater part of his property; but only a small portion of it has heretofore become available for the support of the cause he loved so well, and served with so much zeal and success. His widow, on whose decease all that remained was to come into our hands, died nearly eight years ago; but the heirs-at-law kept it in litigation till last summer, when the Supreme Court of Maine at length ordered it to be paid over, in accordance with his will, to our Society. Some of it, however, is in New Hampshire; and before the courts there litigation is still going on. We may hope for a final decision ere-long; and the result will probably be, after a delay of eight or ten years, a loss to our cause of more than half of what might have been realized by a prompt settlement without litigation; one case among hundreds showing how much better it is to do ourselves in our life-time the good we purpose with our property, than to leave it with others after we are dead.

Amid all the clouds that hang over our cause, we find no reason for despair or distrust of its ultimate success, but rather a call upon its friends for a stronger faith, and a more indomitable zeal. It is now seen to be, more than ever, the cause of God and humanity, clearly indispensable to the highest welfare of our race alike for time and for eternity; nor can we doubt that He who doeth his pleasure in the armies of heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, will in this case, as in every other, eventually make even the wrath of man subserve the fulfilment of his promises, that nations, taught by his gospel of peace, shall at length beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more. Its friends may be put to still severer tests of their faith, and be required to make on its behalf far greater efforts and sacrifices than ever; but we retain a cheerful, unwavering, steadily increasing confidence, that it is destined, under God, to emerge at last out of these war-clouds in such beauty, loveliness, and glory as shall win all hearts and all hands for its support and its final triumph.

Even the clouds now hanging over us, so red with human gore and the lurid glare of battle, reveal here and there a silver lining of hope. We can discern after all not a few signs of progress towards the grand consummation we seek. The proposal by the French Emperor of a General Congress, to avert from Europe the evils of war by a timely adoption of such rational, peaceful expedients as we have so long been urging; the prompt and cordial responses in its favor by every European

Government except Great Britain; and the fact that the stern logic of events has at length forced England herself to press essentially the same measure in arrest of a conflict in Denmark that threatened a general embroilment, whose extent and duration no human eye could foresee, all go to prove that the seed sown by the friends of peace has already taken some root, and is beginning to bring forth fruit for the healing of the nations. Even our own terrible conflict is not without some mitigating indications of progress in the right direction. There is in it perhaps as little of a wrong spirit as would attend any effort for an effective enforcement of law against a large number of capable, desperate men in any country, or any great city like London, Paris, or New York, bent upon its violation at all hazards. We doubt whether a similar attempt to overthrow the government of England, to trample all her laws under foot, and put in peril the chief interests of her people, would have been met in a better spirit or way than we have treated the rebels who have sought to erect an empire of slavery upon the ruins of our Republic. On the part of our government and its loyal supporters, this contest for the maintenance of its rightful authority by a due enforcement of its laws, has in the main been conducted with a leniency, forbearance, and humanity seldom, if ever, witnessed in the world's history. There has been no wish for vengeance; but only a demand that the government shall be sustained by a just enforcement of law against its violators. If our rulers have erred in their general course, it has been chiefly by showing a degree of leniency that has been abused to protract the contest, and aggravate its inevitable evils. Our people, meanwhile, have spontaneously made large provisions to relieve the sufferings incident to any strife of arms. Individuals and voluntary associations, chiefly through our Sanitary and our Christian Commissions, have already expended between two and three hundred millions of dollars for the physical relief and comfort of our troops. Special efforts, far greater than ever before in any war on record, have also been made, in many ways, for their spiritual welfare. Such facts are for the most part new in the history of war, and may well be regarded as furnishing a fair presumption that efforts the most gigantic for the enforcement of law are not necessarily accompanied with all the malign influences morally attendant upon ordinary warfare.

After all, however, a resort to the sword in any case is a blind and brutal process of justice. It may be deemed for the present a necessity; but, if it be so, it is such a necessity as ought to exist no longer in Christendom, such a necessity as shows how imperfect its civilization and its practice of Christianity still are. We should be thankful for any

meliorations of war; but all such meliorations still leave an amount of evils which no arithmetic can compute, no imagination conceive. We have no heart to dwell now upon any of these. We must wait for calmer times to learn wisdom from passing events. Sure we are there is coming a day of sober second thoughts; and when the bewildering excitement of the contest is over, and the smoke of a hundred battle-fields has passed away, and we come calmly to reckon up not only the millions of treasure spent, and the myriads of national debt incurred, and the whole stream of evils, financial, political, and moral, sure to be poured over us in the future, but also the hundreds of thousands of our slain, the still greater number of men crippled or diseased for life, and the vast multitude of widows, orphans, and mourning friends, scattered far and wide over the land, we shall at length begin to learn the suicidal folly and madness of resorting to the sword for the decision of disputes that can be satisfactorily settled, after all, only by an appeal to reason and law. None of these results have taken ourselves by surprise. We foresaw them all, and did what little we could to avert them; but our humble warnings and entreaties were unheeded or spurned. It is all a legitimate fruit of the war-habits in which the whole South have been trained, but which the North had begun so far to change that, if the former had been in season brought into those of the latter, this rebellion would with moral certainty have been prevented. May God in his infinite mercy overrule this terrible experience for good, and make it the means of leading us all, North and South, to adopt on this subject such principles, and form such habits, as alone can avert from us hereafter a repetition of the evils we now so deeply deplore.

We cannot be too thankful for our escape thus far from any serious embroilment with other nations. To such a peril the nature of our struggle necessarily exposed us; for we are in fact contesting the great issue of the age and of all ages, whether the few or the many shall rule, and government, with its vast powers for good or for evil, shall be used by aristocrats for their own selfish ends, or by the mass of the people for the general weal. On this issue the aristocrats of the Old World took sides of course with our slave-mongering rebels, and, having in their hands the reins of government, and the chief means of controlling public opinion, succeeded at one time in bringing us to the verge of actual war with England; but her honest, intelligent yeomanry, though long misled, came at length to understand the nature and drift of our contest, and compelled their rulers to change the hostile policy they had so early inaugurated, obviously in the hope of seeing our Republic broken in

pieces. All honor to the men who brought about this result ; and thanks, more than we can well express, are due to such men in Parliament as Bright, Cobden, and Foster, to such writers for the press as Mill and Carnes, and to such representatives and leaders of the people as Newman and Massie, Hall, Baptist Noel, and George Thompson. We have been struck with grateful admiration of the vast, unwearied efforts put forth under the leadership of such men, to rectify public opinion in England respecting the gigantic rebellion which is still convulsing our land. Their success has been great ; and posterity on both sides of the Atlantic will remember such services in the cause of Humanity, Freedom and Peace.

Among the friends we have lost the past year, we cannot refrain from a passing tribute to the memory of the late EDWARD HITCHCOCK, D. D., LL. D. A self-made man, with only such means of culture as he found in his humble native village, he quietly, steadily pushed his unpretending way up to success, first as a country pastor, next as a professor in one of our leading colleges, and finally as its popular and efficient president. We seldom find a career so uniformly successful, or a character of such high and manifold excellencies. As a Christian, as a Christian minister, as a man of science and of general letters, he has left a name that does honor to the religion he professed, and to the country whose institutions made him what he became. He was a man not of one idea, but of very many ; a friend and promoter of progress in every direction ; and among the enterprises that received his steadfast support through life, was the Cause of Peace. His character was a fine illustration of its spirit ; and at the General Peace Congress, held at Frankfort, Germany, in 1846, he was the leading representative from America.

ANNUAL MEETING.

The American Peace Society held its thirty-sixth Annual Meeting, May 23, in the Congregational Library, 23 Chauncy Street, Boston. In the absence of the President, Professor A. CROSBY, of Salem, Mass., one of the Directors, was called to the Chair.

On motion, Messrs. L. H. Angier and L. R. Eastman were appointed by the Chair a Committee to nominate a list of officers for the ensuing year.

Hon. AMASA WALKER, one of the Vice-Presidents, who had been expected to preside, having arrived, Professor Crosby resigned the Chair to

him. The Corresponding Secretary, Dr. Beckwith, then read the Annual Report of the Directors, which, after discussion, and the suggestion of slight modifications, was accepted and adopted, as was also the Report of the Treasurer.

There was a free interchange of views respecting the deplorable conflict in which our Government has so long been involved for the maintenance of its authority; but, as the result of the discussion, the Society took no special action on the subject.

On report of the nominating Committee, the following list of officers were chosen for the ensuing year:—

OFFICERS.

HOWARD MALCOM, D. D., LL. D., PRESIDENT.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

FRANCIS WAYLAND, D.D., LL.D., Providence, R. I.	THOMAS C. UTHAM, D. D., Brunswick Me.
HON. CHAS. SUMNER, LL.D., Boston, Mass.	HON. T. W. WILLIAMS, New London, Ct.
JOHN TAFTAN, Esq.,	HON. JOHN JAY, New York.
WILLIAM JENKS, D. D.,	WILLIAM B. CROSBY, Esq., New York.
BARON STOW, D. D.,	HON. GERRIT SMITH, Peterboro', N. Y.
JOS. E. WORCESTER, LL.D., Cambridge,	Rev. SAMUEL J. MAY, Syracuse, N. Y.
ANDREW P. FRABODY, D.D.,	HON. JOHN PRENTISS, Keene, N. H.
HON. AMASA WALKER, No. Brookfield,	WM. H. ALLEN, M. D., LL.D., Phil. Penn.
HON. SAM. FRESEBENDE, LL.D., Portland, Me.	CHAS. D. CLEVELAND, LL.D.

DIRECTORS.

Rev. CHARLES BROOKS, Medford, Mass.	GEO. C. BECKWITH, D. D.,	"	"
Prof. ALPHEUS CROSBY, Salem,	TIMOTHY GILBERT, Esq.,	"	"
BENJ. GREENLEAF, Esq., Bradford,	W. C. BROWN, Esq.,	"	"
R. P. STEBBINS, D.D., Cambridge,	THOMAS GAFFIELD, Esq.,	"	"
HON. A. WALKER, No. Brookfield,	H. H. LEAVITT, Esq.,	"	"
J. A. COFF, D.D., Chelsea,	JOHN GOVE, Esq.,	"	"
WM. JENKS, D. D., Boston,	JACOB BANCROFT, Esq.,	"	"
F. D. HUNTINGTON, D.D., Boston,	JOHN FIELD, Esq.,	"	"
J. W. PARKER, D.D.,	JAMES TOLMAN, Esq.,	"	"
BARON STOW, D.D.,	E. T. STODDARD, Esq.,	"	"

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

AMASA WALKER,
BARON STOW,
J. W. PARKER,

J. A. COFF,
G. C. BECKWITH,
BENJ. GREENLEAF,

JOHN FIELD,
W. C. BROWN,
H. H. LEAVITT.

JOHN FIELD, Treasurer.

G. C. BECKWITH, Corresponding Secretary.

W. C. BROWN, Recording Secretary.

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT

AMERICAN PEACH SOCIETY in account with JOHN FIELD, Treasurer.

RECEIPTS :—

Balance from last year's account	11.29
Receipts reported in Advocate of Peace Oct., 1863.....	43.79
" " " " April, 1864.....	1,765.80
Income from investments, besides \$367.50 in Advocate for April	202.64
Publications, &c.	45.46
Balance against Society to next account.....	382.63

\$2,841.07

PAYMENTS: —

For postage, stationery, rent of office, meetings, &c.....	147.78
For paper, printing, binding, and other expenses relative to publications.....	1,536.82
For agency services and travelling expenses.....	1,156.47

\$2,841.07

We have examined the foregoing account, and find it correctly cast and properly vouched.

WM. C. BROWN, }
H. H. LEAVITT, } Auditors.

Boston, May 23, 1964.

'CRITICISM OF OUR COURSE

We usually leave our action to speak for itself; but, when a sincere and much respected friend of our cause criticised us with no little severity, we wrote the following explanation in the hope of its being published in the journal of which our friend is the editor. We do not censure him for his refusal of our request; but, thinking the article a true and fair exposition of our views, we insert it here in justice to ourselves:—

"Your leading editorial in your last number, containing strictures upon the course of the American Peace Society, induces me to enclose some of our tracts, stereotyped many years ago, from which you will see precisely the ground we have taken from the first on the subject of Civil Government.

I have myself so much and so cordial sympathy with your Society in your *general* mode of applying the gospel to the social relations and interests of mankind, that I feel very reluctant to differ from them upon an issue so important as the one now under consideration. Perhaps we can not agree entirely upon it; but, if not, I am anxious to know precisely wherein and why we differ. Let me, then, briefly state our own positions: 1. The Cause of Peace, as understood by *all* Peace Societies, is restricted to the single object of doing away, not civil government, or any of its legitimate powers or functions, but only the custom of war, or

the practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword, the abolition of their whole war-system as irrational, and contrary to the gospel.—2. In pursuing this object, we abstain from interfering with the ordinary, legitimate operations of government, and leave untouched its general rights, powers and duties in dealing with its own subjects.—3. On this question of civil government, as thus lying outside of our proper sphere, we take as a Peace Society no stand, any more than we do upon a multitude of other issues, about which its members are known or supposed to differ, but allow, as we *must*, our associates to think and act, each for himself, on his individual responsibility.—4. In the exercise of such responsibility, we find them, very much as a matter of course, adopting, for the most part, the views or modes of reasoning generally current in the community.

Such are our positions; and wherein do we differ from yourselves? You *expressly* recognize, as we *incidentally* do, the existence of civil government as a divine ordinance for the benefit of society. We both alike admit its necessity, and its right to exist and to act. Now, what does this admission mean or involve? Clearly a right to make and to execute law. It *must* mean all this, or it means nothing to any purpose. If you deny either of these, you do in effect abjure all government by making it a mere name, a practical nullity; for a government not allowed to make or execute law is just no government at all. But if it has these powers, how shall it use them? By argument, persuasion, moral influence alone? None of these constitute government, the essence of which lies in its right and power to compel obedience to its authority, or submission to its penalties. Moral suasion is very well in its place; but, if it fails, what shall be done? Shall the transgressor be allowed to have his own way? This would put an end, in effect, to the government itself, and abandon society to utter anarchy. Law *must* be executed; but how *can* it be in the last resort, except by force? And if it may use *any* force at all, must it not use enough to maintain its authority by bringing offenders to condign punishment?

But you may ask, why should peace men moot this vexed question? We did not start it ourselves; it was forced upon us; and we were compelled, alike by friends and foes, to discuss it. You seem to regard us as censurable for recognizing what constitutes civil government, while others reproach us for the avowal of our peace principles, and our persistent opposition to the war-system. Claiming to be friends alike of peace and of government, we are challenged on both sides to defend

our views ; and we meet the challenge simply by a frank exposition of the grounds we have all along taken.

Let us apply a practical test. If you were mayor of Philadelphia, and a single villain, or a gang of twenty or a hundred, should attempt to burn or plunder the city, and, like our rebels, trample all law under their feet, what would you as a Christian magistrate do ? Would you read to them the Sermon on the Mount, expostulate with them, and try the utmost power of kindness and moral suasion ? Of what avail would all this be with men fully bent on such deeds ? While trying this experiment, what becomes of the city intrusted to your care ? There are more than nine chances in ten that they will abuse your lenity to make sure of accomplishing their nefarious purpose ; and what will you do then ? You were chosen and pledged to see the laws put in execution. You *must* do it, or resign your office to some one that will ; but how are you, or any body else, to do this without employing all the force necessary for the purpose ?

Take the case of the riot in the city of New York last summer. That was a clear offshoot of our rebellion, only what military men would call a flank movement of the rebels through their northern sympathizers, the very same thing upon a small scale that the rebel leaders are attempting over nearly half our country. If a Quaker had been mayor last July, what would you have him do ? Try the utmost power of moral suasion to restrain the maddened fiends ? But should it all prove unavailing, what would you, in the last resort, have him do ? He is bound by his oath of office to enforce the laws ; shall he do it ? Do you deem it wrong, unchristian, for him to execute the laws against the robbers, incendiaries and murderers, that are doing all they well can to turn the city into a sort of pandemonium ?

We all remember, with sorrow and shame, the suicidal effect of lenity in that case ; but let us see the result of a different course pursued at the same time in New England. The same game was attempted in Boston, but was foiled by a prompt, decisive enforcement of law against the rioters. New Bedford had last summer, as for some time before, an excellent mayor in the person of a Quaker, George Howland. The concoctors of the New York riot had laid their plans to fill the cities of New England with riots akin to their own, and might have succeeded but for the prompt, determined resistance they met in Boston and New Bedford, the two places where the attempt was chiefly made. In New Bedford, the mayor ordered the military, as the force prescribed by law for such an emergency, to hold themselves in readiness for an instant arrest

of any offenders against the public peace; and, as the result of such enforcement of law, New England was saved from the evils that befell New York, and disgraced our whole land.

Now, did the Quaker mayor do wrong? If so, wherein? In what other way *could* he have done his duty as mayor? If you had yourself been mayor in New York, what would you have done? Would you have enforced law against its violators, or would you have left them, without any effective resistance, to fill the city with robbery, conflagration and murder? So of our national Government in dealing with the present rebellion. If you had been President, sworn to see the laws enforced, would you have attempted their enforcement? If not, what becomes of the government, and what are you, its head, but a practical abettor of the rebellion? Would you fold your hands, and let our laws all be violated with impunity? If so, what do you mean by government? If it may *not* execute its own laws against transgressors, what *can* it do that deserves the name of government?

Now, such questions must be met. You may say peace men should have nothing to do with them; but *somebody* must deal with them, and decide in actual practice what shall be done with all violators of law. Is it right, then, to have government? If so, must not its laws be put in execution? Can this be done without such an amount of force in the last resort, as shall actually suffice for the purpose? Is such use of force necessarily unchristian?

DANGERS OF COLLISION WITH ENGLAND.

This danger we have thus far escaped; but of the future, as the result of her complicity in our rebellion, we have many fears. She has been its chief reliance from the first; and while the men now at the helm of her affairs are treating us with a degree of fairness, if not friendship, little expected at one time, most of her ruling classes betray a determination, if possible, to embroil these countries.

A recent discussion in Parliament seemed to us ominously significant. The government were unwilling to take *decisive* measures against furnishing from the British ship-yards and British ports for our rebels vessels that have been well termed "British Pirates," to prey upon American commerce. "Mr. Cobden expressed a fear that the policy of the Government had produced such a sense of grievance in the American mind as it would be difficult to disabuse. He pointed to the destruction of the American marine by these cruisers, and predicted similar results to

England if she became belligerent. He contended that the Georgia, Florida and Alabama were not men-of-war, and ought to be excluded from the ports; and again warned the government that its policy would recoil hereafter on England with disastrous effect."

We anticipate no *immediate* collision; but, when our rebellion is put down, we fear that the memory of these wrongs, long and keenly felt by us, and at length confessed even by the British Government, will be used by the enemies of England among us—and their name especially among the Irish, is legion—to kindle, sooner or later, a war excitement that good men will not be able to restrain or control. Let the friends of peace, of humanity, and of God throw to the windward as many anchors as possible.

Take a single fact. The *London Daily News* gave not very long ago the names of no less than ten steamers which had recently cleared from British ports, with cargoes of arms and munitions of war for the rebels. The aggregate of the shipments by nine of these vessels is as follows:—

Cannon.....	58	Ball cartridges.....	5,494,000
Muskets.....	20,960	" (cases).....	500
Rifles.....	60,000	Permutation caps.....	20,650,000
Pistols.....	490	Gunpowder (lbs).....	645,000
Shells.....	2,800	Saltpetre (bbls).....	400
" (cases).....	810		

Had we treated England thus, would she not have bristled up like a very porcupine? Had she treated France so, would not Napoleon have made at once such demonstrations as would have convulsed all England with alarm? How long will America bear it in silence?

SAD MEMORIALS OF WAR — Among all the sad relics of the war which find their way North, there are few that appeal more to the feelings than rebel manuscript letters. A large newspaper office is particularly favored in the reception of such documents. We have had letters which were picked up upon the battle-field of Shiloh, written in a mother's hand, and as tender in their spirit as those from the most refined parent of the North. Others from ignorant and uncultivated women, imbued with secession sentiments, have breathed hatred and bitterness to the "Yankees." Some have been thirsty for blood, some prayerful for peace, and some urging the return of the volunteers to their Southern homes. One before us is from a father to his son; it says, "Bear yourself up, my dear son, as well as you can, and do not study and grieve too much about your family. It will do no good. The Lord will take care of your wife and little children. Try and cast all your hopes on the arms of Jehovah, who alone has the power to save you in the day of trial and danger. You seem to think that we will give up Virginia, but

you are seriously mistaken ; we will never give up Virginia while there is one man in it. . . . I have now the care of three families on my shoulders. I was offered a thousand dollars a few days ago to go as a substitute ; but my hands are tied. This is an unnatural war, brothers imbruing their hands in brothers' blood ; but the Lord yet rules in the armies of heaven and earth, and whom he will he pulleth down, and whom he will he raiseth up. If it is the will of our heavenly Father that we meet no more on earth, may we be permitted to meet around the topless throne of Jehovah, where God will wipe our tears away."

The fears of the father were well founded ; for the letter from which the above extracts were made, was taken from the pocket of the Southerner, as he lay upon the battle-field dead. Only one case of the scores of thousands, scattered all over the land. Who shall answer to the final judge for this wide and fearful amount of suffering ?

WHO RESPONSIBLE FOR THE EVILS OF OUR WAR.—Its cause is wholly and solely Slavery. For all the misery that has been caused, and all the blood that has been spilt, Jeff. Davis and his compeers are guilty, and their condemnation is sure. The rebellion is a conspiracy against the rights and liberties of mankind.—*Mason Jones.*

SPIRIT OF THE REBELLION.

FEMALE REBELS.—"A daughter of South Carolina" from the Darlington district, writes the following to the *Charleston Courier*,—"I propose to spin the thread to make the cord to execute the order of President Davis, when old Butler is caught, and my daughter asks that she may be allowed to adjust it around his neck." Parson Brownlow, while in Knoxville, saw the rebels take out Union men, two at a time, set them with their coffins in a cart, and, surrounded with bayonets, carry them to the gallows and hang them. Secession ladies went out to witness the *gallic* !

Change in them now.—In passing along the streets, says a correspondent at New Orleans, one is forcibly reminded that some great sorrow weighs heavily upon the hearts and is exhibited in the countenances of the female portion of the inhabitants. The features of most of them wear a sad, cheerless expression, which is far more expressive than language could be of bereavement and disappointed hopes. I should judge that three-quarters of the white women one passes on the street, are dressed in the habiliments of mourning. In addition to this there is an exhibition of straitened circumstances, such as is seen in no city north of Mason and Dixon's line. In fact, everything one sees bears witness to the great change which has taken place in the circumstances of the first families of this once opulent city.

REBEL WARFARE.—Gen. Rosecrans once addressed a letter to Gen. Joseph Johnston, informing him of the violation of a flag of truce by Gen. Bragg ; the robbery of thirty-eight Union surgeons while attending wounded rebels ; the firing upon a hospital steamer by rebel soldiers, and subsequent plunder of the sick and wounded men on board, who were stripped of all their personal property, including in some cases part of the clothing they wore ; and other acts of barbarity perpetrated by the rebels, all of which are indig- nantly protested against as inhuman, and contrary to civilized warfare.

At Newtown, Va., a civilian, who escaped with difficulty by joining our troops, and witnessed the attack on the advance train of Gen. Banks'

column, testified that the assailants were cavalry without uniforms, some of them without swords, and showing only the ferocity of banditti. They murdered the sick and wounded indiscriminately. The people of the town not only cheered the troopers as Ashby's men, but fired themselves from behind the walls, exhibiting the hate and cruelty of savages. He says from what he saw with his own eyes, we may be sure that the accounts of the fiendish conduct of the rebel guerillas and their sympathizers among the citizens, were not exaggerated. He was told by two men of the Maryland Regiment, that they saw the enemy enter an ambulance, and cut the throats of some of the occupants.

"You see," says Chaplain Quint, "accounts of Southern brutality. I have never believed much of that, knowing some noble Southerners; but I am satisfied. A clergyman of this country, a man who only from compulsion became silent as to the guilt of secession, assures me, that "Yankee skulls" were hawked about this town after the Bull Run battle, at ten dollars apiece. Spurs, also, were made of jaw-bones to his personal knowledge. A member of his own church, who was at Bull Run, told him that hundreds of bodies were left headless for such purposes. But I am not at all surprised. I have ceased to feel any wonder at the brutalities of a slaveholding people."

A rebel officer, named Sears, murdered in cold blood one of our number, a mere boy, who had surrendered and was taken prisoner by his command. The poor fellow, seeing himself about to be sacrificed, implored on his bended knees that his life might be spared; but the remorseless villain shot him through the heart with a revolver, at the same time expressing his regret that he "could not serve all the Yankees in the same way." The same man was afterward wounded, taken to our hospital, where the limb was amputated, every attention and kindness paid him, and through the intercession of his friends he was restored to them. I saw him carried across the parade ground on a litter just previous to his shipment to Pensacola. Of course we were then ignorant of the fact that he had murdered one of our men. A deserter informed us that he boasted openly of his heroism.

PLEA FOR ASSASSINATION.—The *Richmond Dispatch*, a recognized organ of the rebels, urged the murder of Fremont for hanging guerillas who had committed murder in cold blood, and thus argued: "Assassination in the abstract is a horrid crime, and so is every kind of killing; but to slay a tyrant is no more assassination than war is murder. What Yankee ever condemned the Roundhead crew who brought Charles I. to the block, although it would be a cruel libel to compare him politically or personally to the tyrants who are now lording it over the South? When Fremont hangs Virginia citizens for defending their country, either singly or in hands of ten or a dozen, either as guerillas, militia or regular soldiers, not only should two Yankees be hung, but a plan should be found by which the life of Fremont itself should be made the atonement, even if it required twenty years to accomplish it!" * * Two or three cool, sagacious and determined men—the fewer the better—ought to be put on the track of every such villain, and under every disguise, amidst every obstacle, and, no matter how many months or years it may require, should follow him up till they have inflicted upon him the same fate he has brought upon others."

Now, what shall be done with such men? Let them have their own way without resistance or restraint? If you can persuade them to cease from their crimes, very well; but if they cannot be, is it wrong for government to coerce, and punish them? If not, what is the use or meaning of government?

ABSTRACT OF OUR NEW STATES AND TERRITORIES.—The exact area of some of these has not yet been fully ascertained; but the following is near the truth:—

<i>States and Territories.</i>	<i>When Organized.</i>	<i>Area in sq. miles.</i>
Arizona Territory.....	1853	130,800
California.....	1850	169,000
Colorado Territory.....	1861	106,475
Dakota Territory.....	1861	152,500
Idaho Territory.....	1863	333,000
Indian Territory.....	Unorganized.	71,000
Kansas.....	1861	83,000
Minnesota.....	1857	83,500
Nebraska Territory.....	1854	63,300
Nevada Territory.....	1861	83,500
New Mexico.....	1859	124,000
Oregon.....	1859	100,000
Texas.....	1845	280,000
Utah Territory.....	1850	109,600
Washington Territory.....	1853	71,300
		1,961,425

Estimated area of the whole United States, 3,250,000 square miles.

RESOURCES OF AMERICA.

At the International Statistical Congress held in Berlin last year, our delegate, Samuel B. Ruggles, made a report on "the Resources of the United States," an abstract of which we copy in part:—

The original territorial area of the United States at the peace of 1783, was 820,680 square miles, and its present extent is 2,936,166 square miles, or 1,879,146,240 acres; more than fourteen times that of France. Of this vast territory there remained, undisposed of and belonging to the government, in May last, 964,901,625 acres; and "the whole of this vast body of land is freely open to gratuitous occupation by actual settlers, without delay or difficulty of any kind."

The average increase of the population of the United States, during the seven decades from 1790 to 1860, is very nearly thirty-three and a third per cent., being from 3,929,827 in 1790 to 31,415,080 in 1860. Of this increase 5,062,414 were due to emigration, of which amount 2,750,784 were from the British Isles, chiefly from Ireland, 1,588,145 were from Germany, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, and 723,485 from other countries. If the rate of increase is kept up, deducting a large margin for a diminished emigration, the population in 1870 will amount to 40,719,126. The rate of increase in France has been 37 per cent. in sixty years, in Prussia 79 per cent. in forty-five years, and in England and Wales 121 per cent. in sixty years, against an increase in the United States in sixty years, of 593 per cent.

With this great increase of population, there has been a corresponding advance in material wealth in the United States. Premising that the assessments of the values of real and personal property do not include large amounts held by religious, educational, charitable, and other associations, and public property, which are exempt from taxation, and that real property is not assessed for more than two-thirds of its cash value, while large amounts of personal property are concealed and escape assessment altogether, Mr. Ruggles presents a table exhibiting the increase of the

assessed value of property from 1790 to 1861, with the following results: the amount assessed in 1790 was \$750,000,000, in 1816, \$1,800,000,000, in 1850, 7,135,780,228, and in 1860, \$16,159,616,068, being an increase during the last decade, of \$9,023,835,840. The relative increase of property and population in the same decade was 130 per cent. for the former, and 35.99 per cent. for the latter, the difference being due to the vast canal and railroad facilities of the country. The amount expended for building railroads alone, from the food-exporting States to the seaboard, during the decade ending in 1860, was, \$413,541,510, and their traffic receipts during 1860, 1861, and 1862 were \$111,548,945, the saving in transportation alone to the communities they traversed being at least five times that amount. Assuming, after the deduction required by the decreased value in slaves, that the increased value of property in the United States for the decade ending in 1860 was \$8,048,825,440, Mr. Ruggles shows that of this amount, the six manufacturing States of New England received \$735,754,244, the middle Atlantic or carrying and commercial States, from New York to Maryland, received \$1,834,911,579, and that the food-producing interior, embracing Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, and Missouri, received \$2,810,000,000. Of this last-mentioned group of States it is shown that, while their improved lands have increased from 26,680,361 acres in 1850 to 51,826,395 in 1860, being 25,146,054 acres taken in ten years from the prairie and forest, or an amount equal to seven-eighths of the arable area of England, there still remain to be improved 230,308,293 acres, permitting a similar operation to be repeated eight times, and plainly demonstrating the capacity of this group of States to expand their present population of 8,957,690 to at least thirty or forty millions, without inconvenience. It is further shown that the cereal products of these States increased from 309,950,295 bushels in 1850 to 558,160,323 bushels in 1860, considerably exceeding the whole cereal product of England, and nearly, if not quite, equal to that of France. We can best measure this rapid and enormous accession of wealth by comparing it with an object which all nations value, the commercial marine. The commercial tonnage of the United States in 1840 was 2,180,764 tons; in 1850 was 3,535,494 tons; in 1860 was 5,358,808 tons. At \$50 per ton, which is a full estimate, the whole pecuniary value of the 5,358,808 tons, embracing all our commercial fleets on the ocean, the lakes, and the rivers, and numbering nearly 30,000 vessels, would be but \$267,940,000; whereas the increase in the pecuniary value of the States under consideration, in each year of the last decade, was \$681,000,000. Five years' increase would purchase every commercial vessel in the Christian world.

THE DUNKARDS.—“The Dunkards of Pennsylvania, at their recent annual assembly, referred the subject of conscription to a committee, which reported in favor of sustaining the Government and obeying the laws, notwithstanding the non-resistant principles of the denomination. A resolution was recommended and adopted, that every member drafted shall pay his commutation, and, if he is not able, the expense shall be assessed on the members of the congregation.”

This we regard as practical wisdom, and not at all inconsistent with their peace principles, unless it be inconsistent to support government by the payment of general taxes, or by recognizing its rights and powers in any way. All genuine peace-men, like Dunkards, Quakers, and Moravians, condemn the war principle on which *all* governments now act, and sustain them, under protest against this principle as wrong. Such protest is, or should only be well understood.

THE NORTH AND SOUTH IN CONTRAST. — In the South, war is the only pursuit; every man is in the army, or connected with it; every village and cross-road has its recruiting, or rather its drafting, station. Every woman esteems it her duty to work for the rebel cause. Business, science, amusements, education, all are merged in the one trade of war. Here at the North, on the contrary, our streets are alive with trade as if all the world were at peace. There is no lack of social intercourse or amusement. Our young men still plan excursions and drive their fast horses. The watering-places are full, and the tide of pleasure-seekers as incessant as in years gone by. Parties abound; and the gay and festive dance draws its crowd of light-hearted youth. We read of a victory, and go to our business or our recreations with a comfortable feeling that all is going well; or a defeat, and forget its import or results in the next five minutes. We see long lists of the killed and wounded in battle, say "poor fellows!" and go off to negotiate a sale, or make a call, as unconcerned as if the victims were Hindoos or Choctaws. In short, while our heroic boys are digging a dead march through the intrenchments of the Peninsula, or fighting step by step over ground that drinks human blood like rain, or yielding to the treacherous grasp of an insidious disease, or, grimy and black with powder, pouring destruction into the ranks of the country's foes, we are living at our ease, and thinking of the war only as a distant calamity.

NEAL DOW ON THE SOUTH.

Gen. Dow had in Southern prisons a long and bitter experience of the South; and from our knowledge of his character, we put the fullest confidence in his statements.

GENERAL CONDITION OF THE SOUTH. — Every branch of industry in the South is prostrate and ruined; the entire country is desolate. Every white male between the ages of eighteen and sixty is declared by law to be in the military service of the Confederacy; and no man in the entire country can be engaged as a clerk, artisan, or workman in any counting-room, factory, or other establishment, without a regular military detail from the authorities. Without that, no man can remain at home to attend to his own affairs, however important. The Southern country is a vast camp, full of soldiers, disciplined and undisciplined, every man a soldier, with none to feed, clothe, or pay them.

The contrast between what I see now, and what I have beheld the last nine months, is wider and greater than what I can tell you. In the South, everywhere I have travelled, I have beheld the desolation of war; everything I saw there reminded me that war is desolating our land; but as I come across the Potomac, and traverse the Free States, I see nothing that reminds me of war. You know nothing of war, except those of you who have offered up loved ones for the honor and safety of their country. Everywhere in the South the land is desolate because of the war. As the President of the Confederate States said, they undertook an enterprise, the magnitude of which they did not at all comprehend; an enterprise that had no other purpose than the establishment of a great empire founded on human slavery.

Until within a few months, the leading men of the South confidently believed in the success of their undertaking. Now they begin to realize the tremendous power of the North, in its naval resources, in men, money, and all the appliances of war, and everywhere they despair of success. The resources of the rebel country are exhausted. The rebel government is destitute of money, destitute of credit. It is impossible, as the rebels begin now to understand, to carry on this great war without money, without credit, without food, and with an absolute destitution of almost all the appliances of war.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.—You have heard from high authority that the people of the South are semi-barbarians. Educated, so far as they are educated at all, in a disregard of the rights of 4,000,000 of their fellow-men; accustomed as they are to see the rights of others trampled in the dust, and undertaking to subsist on their unrequited labor, they learn to disregard the rights of everybody else in their intercourse with both blacks and whites. You see it in their intercourse with each other. The Union prisoners have come in contact with this feeling very largely. They have come in contact with such a people, and have experienced the most barbarous treatment. From the Confederate soldiers at the front, they have experienced kind and courteous treatment; but from the "Home Guards" it has been more barbarous than any prisoners of war have suffered since the days of the 'Black Hole' of Calcutta. I know of nothing in the history of war to compare with the shameful treatment of the Union prisoners at Richmond, and Atlanta, Georgia.

A large quantity of clothing and blankets was sent to my care, to be distributed to the soldiers. I was permitted to visit them for the purpose of distributing the articles. Passing around the camp at Belle Isle, I saw the wretched condition of our soldiers as to clothing and quarters. Nearly one-half of them were without shelter of any kind, and all were in extreme want of clothing. As I passed around the camp, they cried out to me to send them food. Shelterless and almost naked, as many of them were, their first want was food; their chief suffering was from hunger.

On my return to Richmond, I addressed a note to Gen. Winder, in command there, stating that one-half the soldiers were without shelter, and all without sufficient food, and asking his immediate attention to their miserable condition. The result was, that I was not permitted to visit the soldiers any more; their condition was not alleviated, and these stores were put into the hands of another officer, who would conduct himself toward the rebel government with a great deal more forbearance than I was supposed to be capable of. Soldiers perished there at the rate of about five hundred per month, during the winter months, as we were informed.

Libby Prison was a great tobacco warehouse, or rather three tobacco warehouses, three stories high upon the front, four stories high upon the rear, separated by brick walls, through which doors were cut. Our officers were placed in these rooms with bare walls, bare floors, and without any blankets. When I arrived there, I was clad in the lightest summer clothes. It was a cold October night; and my sufferings must have been extreme, but for the kindness of my fellow-officers in supplying me with garments and blankets. After a while a great quantity of blankets was sent by the Sanitary Commission, which made us comparatively comfortable; but we were treated in other respects as so many negroes sent to Richmond to a barracoen for sale. An officer who had a very extensive acquaintance at the South said we were not nearly so well treated as that, for blacks sent for sale were kindly cared for that they might bring a better price. The Union officers were treated as so many cattle turned into a slaughter-pen or barn

to sleep, while Confederate officers in the hands of Union authorities are treated courteously and kindly.

A little incident occurred to myself, which will illustrate the point of difference of treatment between their prisoners and ours. I was exchanged for Gen. Lee. As I was called down to pass off, I had two large trunks to take away. I could obtain no assistance in transporting them, no dray, nor other mode of conveyance. Some of my fellow-officers kindly tendered their assistance, and we carried them between us through the streets of Richmond to the steamer, on which we were ordered upon the forward deck, and forbidden to come abaft the wheels. We were situated on the steamer like so many cattle, slaves, or swine, on the way to market. At City Point we met Gen. Lee in the magnificent saloon of the Federal steamer, New York, we emerging from the forward deck of the dirty rebel steamer. When Gen. Lee and his fellow-officers were ready to change steamers, the general stooped to pick up his small valise, when the Union officer in command said to a soldier near, "Sergeant, take the general's valise on board for him!" I mention this to show the sort of treatment we received down South, and that which the rebels meet with when they fall into our hands. They are treated kindly, courteously; we, rudely, barbarously.

On the morning we came away, Maj. Turner assured Capts. Sawyer and Flynn, who were exchanged in connection with myself, that powder was there, and he said, "Rather than have you rescued, I would have blown you to —, even if we had gone there ourselves." At first, we could not believe it; not that we did not suppose them capable of it; we did not suppose them fools enough to be guilty of an act like that. The destruction of nine hundred Union officers in that way would not have been a fatal blow to the Union cause, but it would have brought down upon them the execrations of mankind; it would have united the Northern people as one man, and would have fired the Northern heart with an intense indignation; and when Richmond should be captured, it would have been utterly destroyed, and blotted out forever from the earth. At first we could not believe that such an act could have been contemplated; but we now regard it as established by satisfactory proof. Such is the temper of the leaders of the rebellion! Such their character!

The rations furnished to the privates consisted *entirely of corn-bread of miserable quality and insufficient quantity*, which produces derangement of the digestive organs and death. The soldiers are slowly wasting away, and die of sheer starvation and cold. Two of them, sent off from Richmond at the same time with myself, died of exhaustion before reaching Annapolis. These poor creatures were reduced to such a state of extreme suffering that many of them were demented. They could not tell the name of their colonel, or the number of their regiment. One of them had become perfectly idiotic from long protracted suffering, many of them having slept all winter in the open air, with no shelter, and without overcoats or blankets. They were all supplied at the commencement of the winter with both, sent them by the U. S. Government; but they were compelled to sell them, in many instances, to procure the means of subsistence, their rations not being sufficient to support them in a state of health.

REBEL LOSS AT CHICKAMAUGA. — Their own report makes it to have been killed, 2,299; dangerously wounded, 4,780; slightly, 10,500; missing, 1,900. Total, 19,475; or one-half at least of the whole number of Bragg's army. All this, too, the result of what was at the time, and still is, claimed as a signal victory, over which the rebels and their sympathizers in Europe have sung peans of exultation.

WELLINGTON'S VIEW OF A VICTORY. — After the battle of Waterloo, Wellington said: "Believe me, nothing excepting a battle lost can be half so melancholy as a battle won. The bravery of my troops has hitherto saved me from the greater evil; but to win such a battle as this of Waterloo, at the expense of so many gallant friends, could only be termed a heavy misfortune, but for the result to the public."

WHAT DEEDS ARE COMMENDED IN WAR. — Gen. Sherman's expedition into Mississippi and Alabama was much extolled as signally successful. And what was this success? The destruction of "150 miles of railroad, 67 bridges 7,000 feet of trestle, twenty locomotives, 28 cars, 10,000 bales of cotton, several steam-mills, and over 2,000,000 bushels of corn." Such is war, and such its commendable deeds! Now, if we allow the war-system, can we refuse to such achievements the meed of praise? But how strange that Christians should ever admire or tolerate them!

"IS THAT MOTHER?" — Among the many brave, uncomplaining fellow-who were brought up from the battle-field of Fredericksburg, was a bright-eyed, intelligent young man, or boy rather, of sixteen years, who belonged to a Northern regiment. He appeared more affectionate and tender than his comrades, and attracted a good deal of attention from the attendants and visitors. Manifestly the pet of some household, he longed for nothing so much as the arrival of his mother, who was expected, for she knew he was mortally wounded and failing fast. Ere she arrived, however, he died. But he thought she had come; for, while a kind lady visitor was wiping the death-sweat from his brow, as his sight was failing, he rallied a little, like an expiring taper in its socket, looked up longingly and joyfully, and in the tenderest pathos whispered, quite audibly, "Is that mother?" in tones that drew tears from every eye. Then, drawing her towards him with all his feeble power, he nestled his head in her arms like a sleeping infant, and thus died, with the sweet word "mother" on his quivering lips.

IMPORTANCE OF THE PRESENT CRISIS IN OUR COUNTRY. — We are living in a wonderful period. Grand as were the revolutions that have occurred in the countries of the Old World, grand as was our own Revolution, still, grander events are now occurring. The part we have to play is as important in the history of the world and humanity as that played by our forefathers. Our capacity to maintain republican constitutional liberty is now on trial; if we succeed or fail, we involve the constitutional liberty of all mankind. White and black, we are all on the boat together. It is our duty to rise to a full comprehension of the era in which we live, so that regenerated as a people, we can stand in the vanguard of the nations of the world. — *Senator Doolittle.*

EMANCIPATION. — In Russia, as elsewhere, is a wonderful stimulant of the intellect. In one district, which formerly had ten village schools and 256 pupils, there are now 1,123 schools and 16,387 pupils; in another, the schools have increased from 20 to 277, and the pupils from 375 to 4,192; and in a third the schools have advanced from 308 to 1,238, and the pupils from 14,596 to 30,000.

ATROCITIES OF OUR REBELLION.

We ought not to be surprised at any amount of atrocities perpetrated by men who have deliberately attempted the overthrow of our government, solely because it could no longer be used as a tool to extend and perpetuate the system of slavery. We are beginning to learn, as the world will in time, the monstrous barbarism with which we are struggling to save the nation's life; and the history of this conflict, when given in full detail, must strike future ages with horror at the fearful excess of its atrocities over those of ordinary warfare. We record a few of the well-attested facts in illustration of its character.

THE FORT PILLOW MASSACRE.—This took place April 12th, 1864; and such were the current rumor respecting it, that Congress sent a special committee to ascertain the facts. We quote from their report:—

"It will appear from the testimony taken, that the atrocities committed at Fort Pillow were not the results of passions elicited by the heat of conflict, but were the results of a policy deliberately decided upon and unhesitatingly announced.

The declaration of Forrest and his officers, both before and after the capture of Fort Pillow, as testified by such of our men as have escaped after being taken by them; the threats contained in the various demands for surrender made at Paducah, Columbus, and other places; the renewal of the massacre the morning after the capture of Fort Pillow; the statements made by the rebel officers to the officers of our gunboats who received the few survivors at Fort Pillow, all prove most conclusively the policy they have determined to adopt.

It was at Fort Pillow that the brutality and cruelty of the rebels were most fearfully exhibited. The garrison there amounted to nineteen officers and 538 enlisted men, of whom 262 were colored troops. On Monday, the 12th of April, the anniversary of the attack on Fort Sumter in April, 1861, the pickets of the garrison were driven in just before sunrise. The fighting soon became general; and about nine o'clock Major Bradford succeeded to the command, and withdrew all the forces within the fort, situated on a high bluff which descends precipitately to the river's edge. The rebels continued their attack; but up to two or three o'clock in the afternoon they had not gained any decisive success. Our troops, both white and black, fought most bravely, and were in good spirits. About one o'clock, the fire on both sides slackened somewhat.

The rebels having thus far failed in their attack, now resorted to their customary flag of truce. Their first flag of truce conveyed a demand from Forrest for the unconditional surrender of the fort. To this Major Bradford replied, asking to be allowed one hour to consult with his officers. In a short time a second flag of truce appeared, with a communication from Forrest, that he would allow Major Bradford twenty minutes in which to move his troops out of the fort, and, if it was not done in that time, an assault would be ordered. To this Major Bradford replied that he would not surrender.

During the time these flags were flying, the rebels were moving down the ravines, and taking positions from which the more readily to charge upon the fort. Parties of them were also engaged in plundering the Government buildings and Commissary and Quartermaster's stores, in full view of the gunboat. Captain Marshall states that he refrained from firing upon the

rebels, although they were thus violating a flag of truce, for fear that, if they should finally succeed in capturing the fort, they might justify any atrocities that might be committed by saying they were done in retaliation for his firing while a flag of truce was flying. He says, however, that when he saw the rebels coming down the ravines above the fort, and taking positions there, he got under way and stood for the fort. He determined to use what little ammunition he had left in shelling out the ravine, but he did not get up within effective range before the final assault was made. Immediately after the second flag of truce retired, the rebels made a rush from the position they had so treacherously gained, and obtained possession of the fort, raising the cry of "no quarter!" But little opportunity was allowed for resistance. Our troops, white and black, threw down their arms, and sought to escape by running down the steep bluff near the fort, and secreting themselves behind trees and logs in the bushes, and under the brush, some even jumping into the river, leaving only their heads above the water.

Then followed a scene of cruelty and murder without parallel in civilized warfare, which needed but the tomahawk and scalping knife to exceed the worst atrocities ever committed by savages. The rebels commenced an indiscriminate slaughter, sparing neither age nor sex, white nor black, soldier nor civilian. The officers and men seemed to vie with each other in the devilish work. Men, women, and children, wherever found, were deliberately shot down, beaten, and hacked with sabres. Some of the children not more than ten years old, were forced to stand up and face their murderers while being shot. The sick and wounded were butchered without mercy, the rebels even entering the hospital buildings, and dragging them out to be shot, or killing them as they lay there unable to offer the least resistance. All over the hillside, the work of murder was going on. Numbers of our men were collected together in lines or groups, and deliberately shot. Some were shot in the river, while others on the bank were shot and their bodies kicked into the water, many of them still living, but unable to make exertions to save themselves from drowning. Some of the rebels stood up on the top of the hill, or a short distance from its side, and called to our soldiers to come up to them, and, as they approached, shot them down in cold blood, and if their guns or pistols missed fire, forcing them to stand there until they were again prepared to fire.

All around were heard the cries of 'No quarter!' 'No quarter!' 'Kill the d—d niggers! Shoot them down!' All who asked for mercy were answered by the most cruel taunts and sneers. Some were spared for a time, only to be murdered under circumstances of greater cruelty. No cruelty which the most fiendish malignity could devise was omitted by these murderers. One white soldier, who was wounded in the leg so as to be unable to walk, was made to stand up while his tormentors shot him. Others, who were wounded and unable to stand up, were held up and again shot. One negro, who had been ordered by a rebel officer to hold his horse, was killed by him when he remonstrated. Another, a mere child, whom an officer had taken up behind him on his horse, was seen by Gen. Chalmers, who at once ordered him to put him down, and shoot him, which was done.

The huts and tents in which many of the wounded had sought shelter, were set on fire both on that night and the next morning while the wounded were still in them, those only escaping who were able to get themselves out, or who could prevail on others less injured to help them out, and even some of those thus seeking to escape the flames, were met by these ruffians and brutally shot down, or had their brains beaten out. One man was de-

liberately fastened down, to the floor of a tent, face upward, by means of nails driven through his clothing and into the boards under him, so that he could not possibly escape, and then the tent was set on fire. Another was nailed to the side of a building outside of the fort, and then the building was set on fire and burned. The charred remains of five or six bodies were afterward found, all but one so much disfigured and consumed by the flames that they could not be identified, and the identification of that one is not absolutely certain, although there can hardly be a doubt it was the body of Lieut. Albertson, quartermaster, and a native of Tennessee. Several witnesses who saw the remains, and who were personally acquainted with him while living here, testified that it is their firm belief that it was his body that was thus treated.

These deeds of murder and cruelty closed when night came, only to be renewed the next morning, when the demons carefully sought among the dead lying about in all directions, for any other wounded yet alive, and those they found were deliberately shot. Scores of the dead and wounded were found there the day after the massacre by the men from some of our gunboats, who were permitted to go on shore to collect the wounded and bury the dead. The rebels themselves made a pretence of burying a great many of their victims; but they had merely thrown them, without the least regard to care or decency, into the trenches and ditches about the fort, or the little hollows and ravines on the hillside, covering them but partially with earth. Portions of heads and faces were found protruding through the earth in every direction, and even when the committee visited the spot, two weeks afterward, although parties of men had been sent on shore from time to time to bury the bodies unburied, and were even then engaged in the same work, we found the evidences of this murder and cruelty still most painfully apparent. We saw bodies still unburied at some distance from the fort of some sick men who had been met fleeing from the hospital, and beaten down and brutally murdered, and their bodies left where they had fallen. We could still see the faces, hands and feet of men, white and black, protruding out of the ground, whose graves had not been reached by those engaged in re-interring the victims of the massacre; and although a great deal of rain had fallen within the preceding two weeks, the ground, more especially on the side and at the foot of the bluff where most of the murders had been committed, was still discolored with the blood of our unfortunate soldiers, and the logs and trees showed but too plainly the evidences of the atrocities perpetrated there.

Many other instances of equally atrocious cruelty might be mentioned; but the committee refrain from giving here more of the heart-sickening details, and refer to the statements contained in the voluminous testimony herewith submitted. These statements were obtained by them from eye witnesses and sufferers. Many of them, as they were examined by the committee, were lying upon beds of pain and suffering, some so feeble that their lips could with difficulty frame the words by which they endeavored to convey some idea of the cruelties which had been inflicted on them, and which had been inflicted on others.

In reference to the fate of Major Bradford, who was in command of the fort when it was captured, and who had up to that time received no injury, there seems to be no doubt. The general understanding everywhere seemed to be that he had been brutally murdered the day after he was taken prisoner. And how many of our troops thus fell victims to the malignity and barbarity of Forrest and his followers, cannot be definitely known. Two officers belonging to the garrison were absent at the time of the capture and massacre of the remaining officers. But two are known to be living, and they are wounded and in the hospital at Mound City.

Of the men, from 300 to 400 were known to have been killed at Fort Pillow, of whom at least 300 were murdered in cold blood after the fort was in possession of the rebels, and our men had thrown down their arms, and ceased to offer resistance. Of the surviving, except in hospital at Mound City, and the few who succeeded in making their escape unhurt, nothing definite is known, and it is feared that many have been murdered after being taken away from the fort.

When the committee arrived at Memphis, Tenn., they found and examined a man (Mr. McLogan) who had been conscripted by some of Forrest's forces, but who, with other conscripts, had succeeded in making his escape. He testifies that while two companies of rebel troops, with Major Bradford and many other prisoners, were on their march from Brownsville to Jackson, Tenn., Major Bradford was taken by five rebels (one an officer), led some yards from the line of march, and deliberately murdered in view of all those assembled. He fell instantly by three musket balls, even while asking that his life might be spared, as he had fought them manfully, and was deserving of a better fate. The motive for the murder of Major Bradford seems to have been the simple fact that, although a native of the South, he remained loyal to his government.

CHARACTER OF FORREST, THE CAPTOR OF FORT PILLOW.—The following illustration is given by one of our generals (D. L. Stanley) to the "Cincinnati Commercial:" "About the middle of the summer of 1862, he surprised the fort of Murfreesborough; and the garrison, after some little fighting, surrendered. A mulatto man, who was a servant to one of our officers, was brought out to Forrest on horseback. The latter inquired of him, with many oaths, 'what he was doing there.' The mulatto answered that he was a free man, and came out as a servant to an officer, naming the officer. Forrest deliberately put his hand to his holster, drew his pistol, and blew the man's brains out. This occurrence took place before the United States Government determined to arm negroes. Of the truth of this there is not the shadow of a doubt, and it can be established any day by living witnesses."

RECOIL OF SECESSIONISM. — Every man of common reflection and forecast must have expected to see the principle sooner or later reacting in fatal recoil upon its abettors. The rebel leaders already repudiate it in practice; and, on the fundamental principle underlying the Southern Confederacy no government on earth can live for a month. The Governor of Georgia, in a late address to the people, said, —

"I can assure you, that secession from the Confederacy will involve you in a new war, a bloodier conflict than that you now deplore. You may say, 'Mr. Davis and his government will not dare to make war on a seceding State, because the right of secession is recognized in the constitution of the Confederacy.' So it is; but you will see by the time you have thrown off the constitution, you have gotten from under its obligations, and sworn you would have nothing to do with it. Do you expect the Confederacy to be bound by a document you refuse to recognize as affecting yourselves? So soon as you announce to the world you are a sovereign and independent nation, as a matter of course the Confederacy has the right of declaring war against you for sufficient cause, equally with the right she holds of declaring war against England, France, or Holland."

MORAL EVILS OF OUR WAR.

THE numerous cases of mutilated men which are constantly to be met in our streets—some without arms, or with but one arm, some deprived of a leg, and some maimed for life in other ways—are well calculated to call forth commiseration, and to affect the heart with sadness at the barbarous cruelty of war. But it is still more distressing to witness the accumulating evidences of the accelerated impetus given by the national contest, to vice and immorality throughout the land. The narratives, almost daily recited in the newspapers, of acts showing at how low an estimate human life is held by large numbers; the continuous depredations upon property, and the disgusting and degrading scenes often enacted in our streets, all go to prove that demoralization is inseparably connected with war.

Since the return to Philadelphia of bodies of soldiers, who, having re-enlisted, have been permitted to visit their homes on furlough, the streets in those parts of the city they most frequent, are rarely free, during most of the day and evening, from the presence of drunken men, whose ribaldry and profanity are highly offensive. Reports from various sources confirm the assertion, long since made, that drunkenness and gambling prevail to a fearful extent in the different armies, though some effort is made to restrain the soldiers while in camp from excessive use of ardent spirits. Such things seem to be looked upon by the public, and to be commented on by the journals, as matters of course, as evils which are to be accepted as the natural fruit of the punitive business in which the nation is engaged, and therefore not giving cause for alarm, nor calling for any extraordinary exertions to arrest, or to roll back the tide of irreligion and crime that is sweeping over the country.

It is true that we have no right to expect any better result from a cause so intrinsically wicked and so potent as war; but this increase of corruption is none the less deplorable, none the less destructive to the best interests of society, none the less calculated to oppress the heart of the sincere Christian with sorrow and apprehension at the working of depravity in so many of his fellow-men, and to fill his mind with anxious forebodings of the fearful consequences likely to follow the wide dispersion throughout the community, when the war is over, of thousands whose morals have been vitiated by camp life, and whose passions have been stimulated by the rapine and murder incident to war. It would be no compensation for this, even were the statement publicly made sometime ago to prove true, that the cities would be gainers in morals by the war, because, of the thousands who infested their stews, and other haunts of criminals, the greater part had gone into the army, and would never get back; but if other thousands, heretofore moral and respectable, are prepared by the schooling of military life to take the places of those thus hurried to the grave, surely the community is a twofold sufferer thereby.

The war undertaken to put down the rebellion, has been waged not quite three years; and tens of thousands of the young, the strong, and the earnest men, who made up the mighty armies first engaged in the deadly conflict, have fallen on the fields of battle, or perished in the hospitals, and fill untimely graves; while very many who served through the first campaigns, and then returned to their homes, have gone back to participate again in the excitement and laxity of a soldier's life. With the exception of two or three raids made by the rebels,—which were soon cut short,—no part of the Free States has been occupied by their troops; and the contending armies have marched and camped within the territory of the insurgents. But notwithstanding that the concentrated evils of the war have thus been

operating at a distance, the increase of crime and spread of depravity, almost universally admitted, tell in loud tones the deleterious miasm which its presence, even in its least destructive and appalling aspect, creates, and the insidious but certain tainting with which it disseminates its poison throughout the community.

We are, however, glad to see in some periodicals published by different denominations of Christians, evidence of their waking up to the magnitude of the growing evils of the war; and that though still speaking of it as a *justifiable*, and some of them as a *righteous* war, they nevertheless admit the natural increase of wickedness attending it, and call upon their readers to institute measures for applying some restraint and corrective.—*Friend*.

ILLUSTRATION OF THE WAR-PRINCIPLE.

DUELING IN GERMAN UNIVERSITIES.—This practice, unknown to the higher civilization of our country, is barbarism itself. I have not chosen to be present at any of these battles. I should as soon think of taking the place of Saul of Tarsus, when he held the clothes of those who stoned Stephen. But I have often seen the armor, and heard the thing described "*ad nauseam*." I will not impose upon you a repetition of this description, but will only say that the duel is with long swords, two edged, and sharp as a razor. The head and face are left unprotected, and for fifteen to thirty minutes (the ordinary time is fifteen) the combatants strive to make as deep and as long gashes as possible upon the unprotected part. The result is sometimes fatal, but not often. The parties are frequently laid up for several weeks while the wounds heal, and then they are perhaps ready for another battle.

These duels are fought upon the slightest provocation. The students belong largely to what are called *Corps*, for the encouragement of this most disgusting barbarism. In one of these universities I was informed there were not less than fifteen of these corps. A member of one becomes a little *exhilarated*, and calls a member of some other corps a coward, a fool, or some other complimentary epithet, and forthwith a challenge and a fight. I have not visited a university thus far without being informed, that from four to ten of these duels occur *daily*. The professors say it is impossible to break it up. Even at Halle, where a majority of the students are studying theology, it is their testimony that three-fourths of all the students would *leave the institution* if they should undertake to suppress the practice! This sufficiently indicates the public sentiment in respect to this barbarism, and in general the low tone of moral feeling that prevails in Germany.—*President Fairfield*.

A brutal custom surely, but quite as sensible as that of war. What created and what still continues it? Only a wrong public sentiment; and whenever this shall be changed, the practice will die out as a matter of course. Just so with war.

FOOD FOR THE MIND.—The issues of the press are enormous. There are above 3,500,000 printed works; and, supposing that each of these is composed of three volumes, and that 300 copies of each were printed, the number of volumes would be above 3,313,000,000; but at least two-thirds of this enormous mass have been destroyed, consequently we have left in all the public and private libraries in the world only 1,104,588,000 volumes. If all these volumes were placed side by side, they would form a straight line of 33,010 miles.

THE PIVOT OF THE REBELLION.—We are engaged in a great struggle, brought upon us by no fault of the people of the United States. The laboring masses, the mechanics of the North, have had no part in bringing on this war. The non-slaveholders of the South have had no part in bringing on this strife. It is a strife brought on by a conspiracy of the few to rule the many; and it is simply because they were not willing to trust the people with their cause that they flew to arms for the purpose of establishing a dominion where they could rule blacks and whites separately from the Federal Government. That is all there is of the rebellion.

Now, this conspiracy is not a recent affair. Wherever you find an of aristocracy in any country, and that aristocracy finds itself opposed by the people, it goes to war with the people. The difference between our aristocracy and the aristocracies that have warred upon the people in other countries is, that our aristocracy happened to be established in certain portions of the country. They occupied certain States; and therefore it was that, when the time came for the aristocracy to rebel against the democracy, they succeeded first in carrying out of the Union the most aristocratic of all the States, namely, South Carolina; and then South Carolina was followed by the other aristocratic States in succession, until we became involved in this terrible war. When an aristocracy thus wars on the democracy, especially if that aristocracy be a local aristocracy like ours, there is nothing for it but to meet the challenge which they throw down, or submit to dismemberment. This is the challenge presented to us. Look through the history of man, and tell me where you can find a people involved in a struggle for a more noble object than that of preserving a nation's life.—*Secretary Chase.*

PUBLIC REFORMS EFFECTED IN FACT BY A FEW.—It has always been so. Even the abolition of slavery in the West Indies by England was no exception. Dr. Massie, when in this country last year, said, "again and again, from the lips of the most distinguished sons of America, have I heard the question: How do you account for it that England, so anti-slavery, that has expended so much for the suppression of the slave-trade and the emancipation of slavery, has now withheld its sympathies from America at the hour when slavery was approaching its downfall? How could she so retrograde? I answer, *England never was, as a nation, anti-slavery.* Her Established Church, her twenty thousand clergy of the church, never sympathized with the abolition of slavery in America. There were a few in the church like Wilberforce. But in his efforts for emancipation, he was deserted by his church. He was outvoted by the Episcopate in the House of Lords. They were remote from it in 1830. The conduct of the planters and their myrmidons towards the missionaries who went from England to the West Indies, constrained by love to the poor blacks, was the occasion of emancipation. These men, enraged at their teachings, pulled down and set fire to their churches, and imprisoned and even condemned to death the missionaries, until England in her religious and her non-conformist circles rose in a whirlwind of indignation to break the oppressor's chain. I remember the words of Lord Derby, who was Mr. Stanley then, during the debate on this subject. 'Anti-slavery,' he said, 'has become a religious principle of the people of England; and it is not wise in a legislature to resist the religious principles of the people.'"

WAR NEVER A SOURCE OF GENERAL PROSPERITY.—It has been attempted to produce the impression in Europe that our statesmen regard the present state of the country as prosperous on account of the war. This is not true. The North does not say so, nor are we prepared to bear any testimony in favor of war. For the most part the way to liberty is through the bright golden doors of intelligence. War is a terrible thing, and only in the last resort is it to be waged. Education is better than the sword to slay tyrants. We are sorry to wage this war, and would settle it now if we could settle it so as to guarantee the future; and we are waging it with the distinct understanding of how great its mischiefs are, and we wish so to have it understood in Europe.

Twelve hundred million dollars have been expended by us, and it has been annihilated as much almost as if it had been thrown into the sea. If we take into account the losses of the South, there can be no computation of it. On both sides one hundred and twenty thousand men are killed each year; and they are from the healthiest and strongest of the community. I will not speak of their social and affectional loss. No words can depict that; but computed as capital, there is a loss to the country yearly of three hundred millions of productive human capital. In the face of such facts, it is impossible to say that war is profitable to us. We do not say that the North is prosperous by the war; but that we are prosperous with, and in spite of, the war. We have men enough for all our uses, and for the further progress of this great conflict. The South have not men enough to carry on the processes of industry, and have drawn old age and infancy into the army for the last struggle.—*Henry Ward Beecher.*

OUR NAVY—ITS LARGE INCREASE.—According to the last Report of this Department, the number of seamen had increased from 7,500 to 34,000. Our naval force then consisted of 588 vessels completed and in the course of completion; and of these, 75 are iron-clad, or armored steamers. The armored vessels completed and in service, or which are under contract, and approaching completion, are believed to exceed in number those of any other power.

FIGHTING RESOURCES OF THE NORTH.—We have still left a vast reserve of fighting men. By the census of 1860, the loyal States and Territories had a population of nearly 23,000,000, of whom 4,463,000 are put down as "fighting men." In this estimate are included all able-bodied white men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years. Making liberal allowances for the able-bodied young men who are excluded by the act, and for all other exemptions, we think the available white militia forces of the loyal portions of the Union may be safely set down as fully up to the grand aggregate of *four millions of men*. Thus it appears that, with 700,000 men in the field, and a naval force equal in effect to an army of half a million more, we have a militia reserved force of three millions to fall back upon. What a vast and terrible power for mischief is here

EXTENSION OF RAILWAYS.—The progress of improvement in this respect is seen in the proposition now entertained of a continuous railway from England to India. "One of these days, perhaps, it will be possible to go from London to Calcutta by rail, without change of cars, except at the crossings of the Straits of Dover and the Bosphorus. The distance is about 6,100 miles; and, as 3,000 miles of track is already laid, it is not surprising that a proposition has been made to complete the route."

EXCHANGE OF PRISONERS WITH THE REBELS.—The report in December, 1863, of the Commissary General of prisoners, accompanying the Secretary of War's report, has just been published. It shows that the number of rebel officers and men captured by us since the beginning of the war, is 1 lieutenant-general, 5 major-generals, 25 brigadier-generals, 186 colonels, 146 lieutenant-colonels, 244 majors, 2,497 captains, 5,811 lieutenants, 16,563 non-commissioned officers, 121,156 privates, and 5,800 citizens. Of these we had on hand at the date of the report 29,229 officers and men, among whom were one major-general and seven brigadiers. There have been 121,937 rebels exchanged against 110,866 Union men returned.

PHILANTHROPY CALLED FORTH BY THE WAR.—None can deny, or fail to admire, the practical beneficence it has evoked throughout our loyal States. Our Sanitary Commission and our Christian Commission, devoted to the physical and moral welfare of our soldiers, have set an example unknown in the history of the world. A little volume, prepared with great care, has been published in New York, giving 'from official and other authentic sources a full and faithful narrative of all contributions offered by the people to the support of their armies, and to the solace of the sufferers by the war. The total contributions from States, counties, and towns, for the aid and relief of soldiers and their families, has amounted to \$187,209,608; those for the care and comfort of soldiers by associations and individuals, \$24,044,865; those at the same time for sufferers abroad, have been \$380,140; and those for freedmen, sufferers by the New York riot of July, and white refugees have been \$639,644; making a grand total, exclusive of the expenditures of the government, of \$212,274,259.'

A grand and most honorable sum total of contributions for the relief of those who have suffered most from this rebellion. But how much wiser and more effective would have been such an application in season of Christian principle as would have anticipated and averted entirely the deluge of crimes and evils poured for the last three years all over our land! Such is the work of prevention which the friends of peace have been attempting and which is sure, in God's good time, to be ultimately accomplished.

LOSSES IN THE POTOMAC ARMY.—Gen. Meade is reported as lately saying that the Potomac army, since it left the lines in front of Washington in March, 1861, has had 100,000 men killed and wounded.

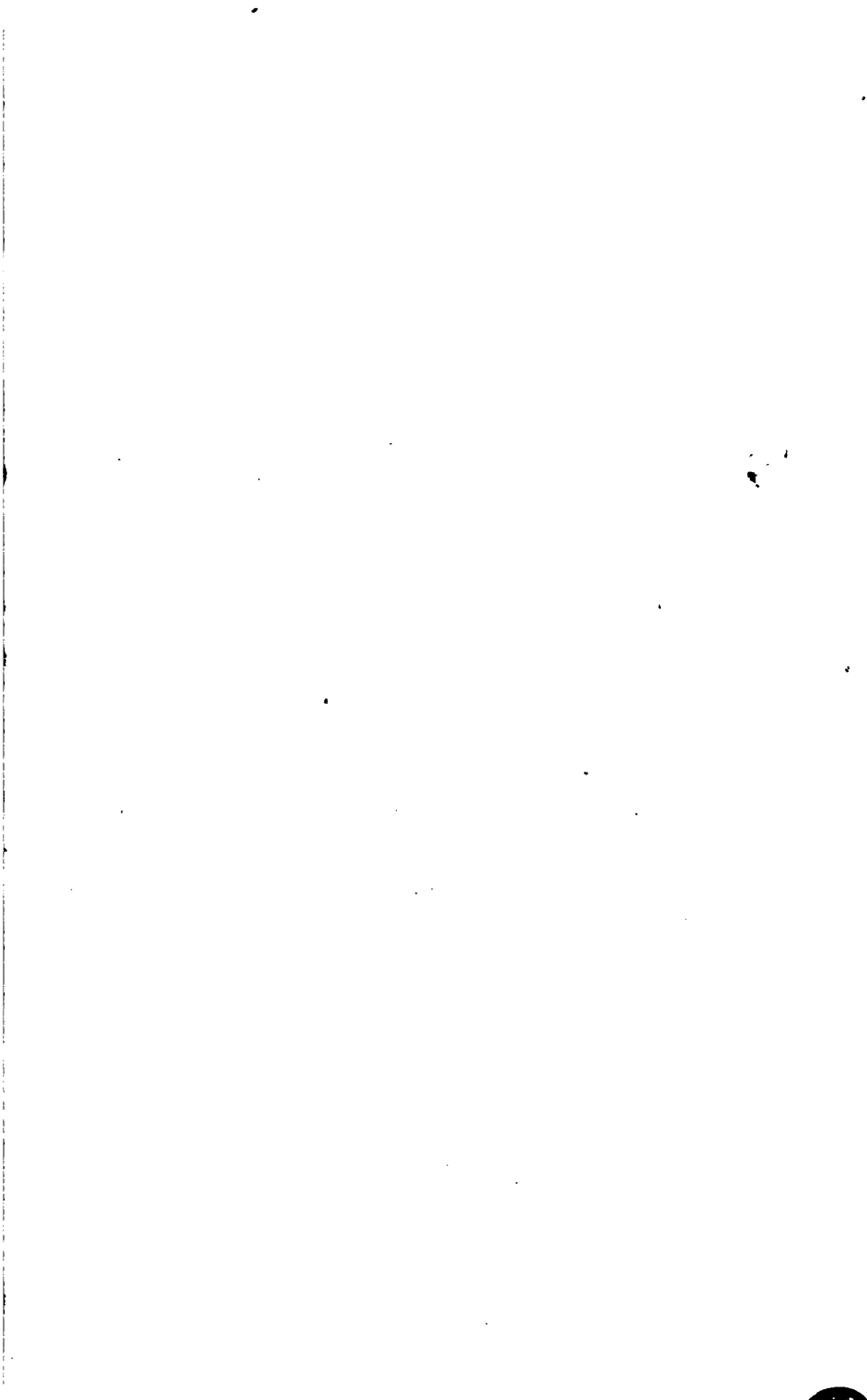
LIVERPOOL PEACE SOCIETY.—From Isaac B. Cooke, Esq., its Secretary, we have received a copy of its Annual Report, a valuable document, giving a brief but comprehensive *resume* of general events the past year bearing on our cause. We quote in full its reference to our own case:—


“The cost in life and property of the American civil war has during 1863 been enormous. At the battle of Gettysburg alone 10,000 men are reported to have been killed and 40,000 wounded. And the deaths in actual battle generally form a small proportion of those due to war. The total war expenditure of the year was \$670,000,000; and the Federal debt, will amount in June, 1865, according to official estimate, to \$2,200,000,000. Self-sacrifice for a high object is the noblest of virtues, and few higher objects could be proposed than that of rescuing an oppressed race from slavery. But how infinite the difference between the Christian's self-sacrifice for others and the warrior's sacrifice of others, involving self-sacrifice as a secondary result. Not even the abolition of slavery can justify the violation of human life, much less the maintenance of the political Union. And yet, so long as slavery exists, there can be little hope of permanent pacification. The agents and advocates of the Confederacy in England now constantly profess an anti-slavery policy; but no evidence appears of progress in this direction in the Confederacy itself. Its leaders, though now fully aware of the disapprobation of Europe, are yet unprepared to entertain the notion of even a compensated and gradual emancipation.”


WHEN WILL THE WAR END?—It must go on until the South is completely broken down and subjugated. Nothing less than that will stop it, unless the North shall be wheedled into some base or unworthy compromise. At the point of complete prostration, her armies overwhelmed by superior numbers, her ports hermetically sealed up from all the world, her trade destroyed, and her credit utterly gone, she must surrender at discretion, and await such terms as the North may choose to impose.—*Neal Dow*.


EXPENSE OF EUROPEAN ARMIES.—The present effective force of the armies of the eighteen European States is 3,816,847 men, or one in every seventy-six inhabitants, who are maintained at a yearly cost of about \$700,000,000, or 32 per cent. of the total expenditures of their various countries. Prussia maintains an army of 214,000, at an annual cost of \$30,000,000; England an army of 300,000, at a cost of over \$100,000,000; Austria of 467,000, at a cost of \$65,000,000; France of 573,000, and Russia of 1,000,000, at a cost of more than \$100,000,000 each.

Louis Napoleon has recently proposed that the great powers shall mutually agree to reduce their armies. M. Legoyt, Chief of Division at the Ministry of Public Works in France, in arguing for a general disarmament, and reduction of war outlays says, if a disarming in the proportion of one-half were effected, “immediately 1,907,924 men, from twenty to twenty-five years of age, constituting the flower of the population of that age, are restored to the labors of peace, and at once a saving of \$320,000,000 is secured. With that sum, Europe might add annually to the railways at present existing 6,250 miles. She could in a single year complete her entire network. She might establish in every commune, and even in each section of the communes, a primary school.” How blessed for the human race when the glorious time shall come when nations shall not learn war any more, and when the immense waste of men and money required in the service of war shall forever cease!—*Exchange*.



 **TO EDITORS** — the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.


 **TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL** — the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

 Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706.....	\$8 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196.....	75
Book of Peace, 1mo., pp. 656. The society's Tracts, bound.....	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252.....	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212.....	25
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108.....	20
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier. 16 mo., pp. 303. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.....	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333.....	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310.....	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond. 8vo., pp. 168.....	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.....	20
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2 50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.....	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12.....	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.....	5
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts.	

FORM OF BEQUEST. — I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of _____ dollars, to be paid in _____ months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. —  Be very careful to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested by the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your purpose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE. — The law allows only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may be addressed all communications designed for the Society.

Aug. 15


THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

JULY AND AUGUST.

CONTENTS.

The Argument for Peace from our Rebellion.....	101	European Congress.....	117
Bank Capital and War Debts.....	102	Social Effects of War.....	120
War the cause of our high prices.....	103	Facts about France.....	120
Duty of the Peace Society in the pres- ent crisis.....	104	Personal Expenses Incident to War.....	120
Letter from Titus Coan.....	106	Loss of Life in War not known.....	120
God's Protection to the Peaceful.....	108	Congress of Nations.....	121
Practical Value of Rebel Money.....	108	Statistics of Religion.....	124
Paper Currency in America.....	109	Navies of the world in 1864.....	124
Results of Temperance in Army Camps.....	110	Items about the Rebellion.....	125
London Peace Society.....	111	Prices in Rebeldom.....	125
Finances.....	111	Secession Suicidal.....	125
Abstract of Report.....	111	Persistence of the Rebels.....	126
General Operations.....	112	Effects of the Rebellion on our Shipping Interests.....	126
The American Rebellion.....	112	Poetry: Coming from the Wars.....	126
Relations with Japan.....	113	Destruction of the Pirate Alabama.....	127
Arbitration and Disarmament.....	113	Foreigners on the American Strug- gle.....	129
Louis Napoleon's proposed Con- gress.....	113	English Feeling toward us.....	129
Non-Intervention.....	114	English Ignorance of America.....	129
Two Methods of controlling Men.....	115	French Feeling towards the United States.....	129
Speakers.....	116	A Scotch View of the Piratical Ala- bama.....	130
General Butler's Order about Rebel Women in New Orleans.....	116	Comparative Expenses of War.....	131
		A Wounded Soldier and his Mother.....	131
		War and Missions.....	132

 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.

1864.



THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1864.

THE ARGUMENT FOR PEACE FROM OUR REBELLION.

The time has not yet come to apply this argument, or even to understand its full import; but the progress of our struggle with our gigantic rebellion is rapidly accumulating materials for such a plea in behalf of our cause, as the world has seldom seen.

It is impossible, during the progress of any war, to get at all its facts; but in this case we already know that its evils are coming well-nigh to defy calculation or belief.¹ Pecuniary loss is perhaps the least of them all; but, being more fully and exactly measured than its other evils, they generally head the list. Can anybody, however, tell how much this rebellion is really costing the whole country? Our government, whose expenses under the Presidency of John Quincy Adams, a little more than thirty years ago, averaged some \$12,000,000 a year, is now spending nearly twice that amount every week. When the rebellion began, we owed only a few millions; but now we congratulate ourselves, that our National Debt, after a conflict of three years, does not yet reach quite two thousand millions! All this besides the enormous taxes we have begun, in sad imitation of war-cursed Europe, to levy upon everything which has any value that can be reckoned in dollars and cents, and besides all the scores and hundreds of millions spent by States, cities, towns and individuals to procure recruits, and support their dependent families.

Now, is it possible to calculate all that this rebellion has cost the loyal North alone? Two thousand millions of dollars do not by any means tell

the whole truth ; for nearly half our able-bodied men, the chief producers of our wealth, have in one way or another been engaged in this gigantic struggle ; a probable loss of more than the direct cost of the war itself. By the census of 1860, the entire property of the country was estimated at a little more than \$16,000,000,000, of which perhaps \$10,000,000,000 belonged to the States that have continued loyal to the government. Suppose, then, the rebellion were to cease to-morrow, and its accounts brought to a final settlement ; what would be the result ? Full \$2,000,000,000 of debt, \$2,000,000,000 more paid out in its progress, and perhaps still another thousand million dollars in the loss of hale, vigorous young men who constitute the bone and muscle of the nation ; nearly, if not quite four-tenths of our country's wealth already sacrificed in this conflict !

Such is a passing glance at the least of the evils occasioned by this rebellion. To its other evils, wider, deeper and far more lasting, we will not now allude, but will just ask Christians, philanthropists and patriots, the good men with whom we have so long been pleading in vain on behalf of our cause, to ponder the subject for themselves, and see how much wiser it would have been to use, as the friends of peace urged them to do more than fifty years ago, the means that would have averted this huge crime and calamity. For more than three years has the loyal North alone spent and lost in this gigantic struggle an average of three or four millions a day ; and had the bare interest on one quarter of what it has thus cost us in a single day, been spent in season and aright in the cause of peace, all over our land, East, West, North, and South, during the last fifty years, the result, under God, would have been the formation of such a public sentiment as would have rendered the present rebellion morally impossible. On this point we have no doubt. The interest on one million of dollars, sixty thousand dollars a year, in the cause of peace for the last fifty years, might and would, we believe, have averted all this mighty deluge of evils. Could such an amount of money have been spent in any other way to better purpose ? In what other department of benevolence or reform would more good have been accomplished ?

BANK CAPITAL AND WAR DEBTS.—In 1852, the capital of all the known banks in the world, according to Otto Hubner, amounted to 1,085,478,664 thalers, or 781,554,865 dollars ; and at the same time the war-debts of Christendom were more than ten times as great. A most pregnant fact and lesson not only for capitalists, but for every reformer, philanthropist and Christian.

WAR THE CAUSE OF OUR HIGH PRICES.

Everybody is complaining, and not without reason, of high prices for whatever we need to eat, drink, or wear; insomuch that persons, once supposed to have ample incomes, and in no danger of ever coming to actual want, must soon find themselves driven to an extreme and pinching economy. Some of what were lately, if not still, deemed the necessities of life, cost more than thrice as much as they did four years ago, and are still going up at such a rate that nobody can guess what they may cost a year or even a month hence.

Now, what is the cause of all this? 'We are flippantly told it is owing to an expanded currency, and that, if the currency were only reduced to the standard of three years ago, prices would come down in the same proportion. Let us think a moment, and we shall see the utter absurdity of such a conclusion. No matter what is currency, or what is lawful money, whether it be gold, or bank notes, or treasury notes, *war* prices always *were*, and always *must* be, *high* prices. Europe learned this during her Napoleonic wars; we learned it in the war of 1812; and the same stern teacher compels us to submit to it now. The reason is clear and simple. Production is diminished, and, by the waste of war, consumption is increased. The war draws the farmer's sons from the plough, and fewer acres are sown and smaller harvests are reaped. The mechanic arts suffer in the same proportion. *Scarcely less than two-fifths of our adult male population are now devoting all their time and energy to putting down the rebellion.* Of these, a vast number are in the field; a large part man our ships of war, now counted by hundreds, and many are in hospitals; while those employed in the navy-yards, iron works, machine-shops, in the manufacture of military clothing and equipments, and in producing munitions and supplies, swell the aggregate to the limit we have named.'

Here is the chief cause, as everybody must see, of nearly all our high prices; nor can they be much, if at all, reduced until this great financial as well as moral and political disturber of society is removed. The producers of a community cannot be withdrawn from their ordinary pursuits, without a corresponding diminution of its products; and when the supply is largely diminished, and the general demand increased, there will of course be a steady advance in prices. This must be inevitable; and just as long as the war lasts, we must of necessity submit to war prices. If we could pay specie for everything, we should find but very partial and temporary relief. The worm gnawing at the root of all our interests, lies coiled up in the war; and till that is over, we shall look in vain for better times, and ought to be thankful if they do not become worse and worse.

DUTY OF THE PEACE SOCIETY IN THE PRESENT CRISIS.

J. P. B., AND THE AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

A copy of the Boston Courier has been sent me, containing an article signed J. P. B., in which much fault is found with the American Peace Society for not using its influence to put a stop to the war now going on between the United States government and the rebels of the Confederacy. I have noticed articles of similar import and spirit in English Peace Publications, over the same signature; and I feel myself called upon to ask J. P. B., whom I recognize as an old and worthy co-laborer in the peace cause, to state explicitly *what* he would have the American Peace Society do in the case.

It is quite easy to make a general exhortation to do right; but it is quite another thing to show what the right is. We had in the earlier months of our struggle, a great many exhortations from our friends in England, to exert ourselves to put a stop to the war; but when we appealed to them to know precisely *what* we should do, what *they* would do in a like situation, we got no answer. If they, or our friend J. P. B. can indicate to us the *modus operandi*, can give us a practical programme, we shall be greatly obliged; but until they do, their exhortations must of course be unheeded.

J. P. B. has, or ought to have, a plan of procedure, and can doubtless inform us what he would do if appointed a delegate to wait on the President in behalf of the American Peace Society, to induce him to make peace with the rebels. He can give us an outline of the address he would make, and the course he would recommend the President to pursue. There is no occasion for a labored argument. The war existing, how shall it be stopped? The question of the right of secession is not at issue. The rebels claim the right; J. P. B., as I understand him, fully concedes it; while the President, and a vast majority of the American people, I suppose, deny any such right. But no matter; how shall the war be closed? That is the point.

J. P. B. may, consistently with his political faith, be ready to advise the President to grant the independence of the confederacy, withdraw his armies, settle up his bills, and let the seceded States do as they please.

Now, I think J. P. B. is bound to show, in a clear, straight-forward manner, precisely what he would have the American Peace Society do under the circumstances. We need no argument to prove that the pres-

ent war is a wise or a foolish one on either side. That it is a most cruel war, having, as perhaps no other war ever had in equal degree, the double character of a civil and an inter-national war of the most atrocious kind, no one will perhaps deny; but what shall the American Peace Society do about it?

The writer never counselled this war, but did what he could by tongue and pen to prevent it. He has no faith in any war, as a means of promoting human welfare, and he has as little faith in this as in any other. But the nation would have war. Peace Societies, as I have understood the matter for thirty years past, have been laboring to destroy this faith in appeals to the sword for the settlement of disputes. They have never supposed they could stop a war when the people were madly bent upon it; but they have supposed, that in time of peace, by showing the wickedness, absurdity and uselessness of war as a means of settling international disputes, they might so change public sentiment, that the nations of the earth might be brought to repudiate the whole war system, and provide for the settlement of all difficulties by reference to a High Court of Nations, by arbitration, instead of brute force. *That*, I understand, to be the mission of Peace Societies; but what would J. P. B. have the American Peace Society do in the present crisis? A. W.

WE have not at hand the article of J. P. B.; but from his pamphlet (12 pp., 12mo,) on "The War of Secession," published by him in 1861, and noticed by us in September of that year, we suppose his logic to be still that of the rebels, and in conflict at nearly every point with the supporters of our government. We thank our correspondent for his communication; but, while endorsing its protest, we think it useless to do more than merely disclaim responsibility for the peculiar views of J. P. B. On his principles, we *have* in truth no government, nor *can* have any under our Constitution; and the idea of rebellion against the government is a palpable absurdity! It is only under an *European* government, that there can be any such thing as rebellion. It would be right for *such* a government to put down a rebellion, but not for ours, because the moment a State, a town, or an individual dislikes the government, he can secede or rebel at pleasure, without being rightfully held to any responsibility for his conduct!—Ed.

LETTER FROM TITUS COAN.

HILO, HAWAII, Jan. 5th, 1864.

G. C. BECKWITH, D. D., Sec. Am. Peace Soc.

MY DEAR BROTHER.—That old Bethlehem song still sounds in my ears, "Peace on earth, good will to men." There is a ravishing sweetness in these angelic strains, which ever and anon, amidst the strife of tongues, and the din of war, comes over me like a charm. I cannot avoid the feeling, that this is the song of cherubim, and seraphin, and saints, and of "*the Lamb*." I know the battle rages, and the hoarse roar of strife, the brazen clarion of war, the demoniac shout, the rush, the awful tread of ten times ten thousand, the rattle of leaden hail, the screeching of fiery messengers, and the deafening thunders of a thousand batteries, is still in my ears. But above all this uproar, I still hear the rustle of cherubic songs, and the enchanting notes roll down from the aerial vaults, "On earth peace, good will to men."

Yes, it is so; I am not deceived. No syren song has beguiled me; for as I gaze upward upon the pure cerulean dome, through the fiery clouds of Tartarean sulphur and smoke, I get glimpses of "*the Heavenly Host*" in their robes of light, with their golden diadems flashing against a serene and cloudless firmament. And now amidst the roar of wrath, and the shriek of vengeance which cause our poor world to reel and tremble, and amidst all the baleful fires and the dire calamities of rebellion and carnage, we look forward to realms of harmony, and to days and ages and cycles of peace.

"Midst all the shock
Of this dread scene,
We stand serene,
Thy word our rock."

You can imagine with what keen and earnest interest we watch the bloody and unnatural strife in our fatherland. Probably no rebellion of such gigantic proportions, so unprovoked, and so diabolical in character, ever before cursed our world. We are against it unequivocally, unreservedly, and emphatically. We are against it in all our powers of being, material and spiritual. And as we believe in government and law, we are with the President and his Cabinet, in every necessary measure to put down this wicked rebellion, and to restore peace and joy to our bleeding country. And with all my opposition to war, and my strong and ever strengthening convictions of its essential wickedness, yet I pray God, that this conflict may not cease without those results which shall be commensurate with the magnitude of the sacrifices and

sufferings it has cost. Let the fire burn, the lightnings flash, and the thunders break, until the atmosphere is purified of its deadly malaria. It is an awful ordeal; but God is in it. The social, political and moral atmosphere was too corrupt, too foul, to sustain the vigor and vitality of "the body politic" without this fiery tempest. The state of the atmosphere invites the thunder, and beckons for the hurricane.

Our sentiments may appear paradoxical; but we must still say, that we hate war, and we reaffirm and reiterate the opinion that, if all professed Christians would view the subject in the light of the Gospel, and would follow the simple and *safe* example of Christ in this matter, war in Christian lands would be *impossible*. Why is the South so confident, so fierce, so earnest, so obstinate in this wicked struggle? Simply because their church creeds and their religious teachers approve their cause, urge them on to deeds of darkness, perfidity and blood, and proclaim the most damnable acts *virtuous* and *heroic*, and wicked, blood-stained perjurers *heroes, saints* and *martyrs*! Had the religious teachings at the South been what they *should* have been, slavery, with its blinding, defiling, and maddening power, had long since disappeared from that fair heritage of our fathers, and this awful rebellion would never have been.

So it is everywhere. Only let ministers and Christians go forth as "salt" and as "light," and, "in the *fullness* of the blessing of the gospel of peace," teach and live as our blessed Redeemer taught and lived; and the war trump would cease to alarm the nations, "the sword would be beaten into a plowshare," and the nations would "learn war no more." If there is one truth in the blessed gospel which shines into my soul with more clearness and glory than any other, it is the one just stated. It comes to me like *intuition*; and all the sophistry, and all the logic of the schools, naval, military, civic, legislative, diplomatic, scientific and theological, can never dislodge it. And this rebellion and all wars, on whatever pretext or whatever scale, serve only to confirm my principles, and quicken my zeal in the cause of peace.

And now, my dear friend, take heart. We are not to be discouraged, because we *are not to be discomfited*. In patience we are to possess our souls, and "in the meekness of wisdom" do what we can to convince and convert others. If we die while the shock of war rages over the earth, we shall, at some future day, look down from the heavenly hills, and see our world, so long seared, blackened, and desolated by war, clothed in beauty, resting in peace, and rejoicing in love. For this consummation we will pray and toil.

As a small token of our continued interest in the cause of peace, the church of Hilo sends you fifty dollars, and I take the liberty to add the trifle of twenty-five dollars.

We are, I trust, thankful to our God that, while the earth is in commotion, and war rages around, we are permitted to live in peace and safety, under the precious vine which "the Prince of Peace" has planted in this land. No where on earth is liberty more perfect, life and property more secure, and peace and happiness more general than on the Sandwich Islands. "The Lord hath done great things for us;" and we owe Him everlasting praise.

Yours in the bonds of peace,

T. COAN.

GOD'S PROTECTION TO THE PEACEFUL.—Is it at all unreasonable to suppose, that a nation uniformly acting according to the pacific principles of the Gospel, would experience the peculiar protection of the Great Governor of the world? How remarkable in this respect was His care over Israel of old, when they faithfully kept His covenant and His testimonies! During the time of the theocracy, it was only when they rebelled against God that they felt the scourge of war, and the hostile rage of the people around them. Is it irrational to conceive, that if any one country were to be regulated in all its domestic measures and in all its foreign relations by the spirit of the Gospel, it would be the peculiar charge of God, and enjoy the smiles of His approbation, and the guardianship of His providence in a degree hitherto unknown? Individuals will have rewards and punishments dispensed to them in a future state; but nations as such will there have no existence. Is it improper, then, to argue that virtuous and pious nations will consequently have their reward in the present world? And what is more reasonable than to conclude, that on a nation, the lover and advocate of peace, the God of peace will bestow the blessings of peace?—*Dr. Bogue.*

We know, in the whole history of Christendom, only one government conducted strictly on the principles of peace. It was William Penn's colony; and during all the seventy years, more than two generations, during which this Christian policy was continued, they lived in safety and friendship with the savages around them, while all the other colonies, acting on the common war principle, were involved in almost incessant conflicts with them. Here was a fair trial of a strictly pacific policy; and its success was complete and triumphant just as long as it continued. It was only the war policy adopted by a generation of men who discarded Penn's principles, that brought upon Pennsylvania the same calamities that befel other North American colonies.

PRACTICAL VALUE OF REBEL MONEY.—Every rebel soldier, at present wages and present value of currency, has to serve more than a year and a half to get money enough to buy a barrel of flour for his family.

PAPER CURRENCY IN AMERICA.

A SKETCH OF ITS RISE AND PROGRESS.

This currency appears among ourselves to have taken its rise from the exigencies of war. Our forefathers, wanting more money than they had in hand to fight the French in Canada, resorted to the expedient of a loan in the form of bills of credit.

"The provincial government of Massachusetts in 1690, made the first issue of paper money, under the denomination of *bills of credit*, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of an expedition to Canada. These bills, when first issued, were of less worth than specie. In New England they were valued at six shillings for a silver dollar, in New York at eight shillings, in Pennsylvania at seven shillings and sixpence. Thence arose in those provinces different currencies, which exist even to the present day. It depreciated very rapidly, until forty-five shillings came to be of the value of one dollar, at which it stood many years, and was denominated '*old ten*.'

This mode of liquidating the public demands, and satisfying the claims of private creditors, was used in many instances by the other provinces, and among the rest by New York. In 1745, Massachusetts alone issued bills to the amount of between two and three millions of pounds, lawful money; and in three years after, by depreciation, £1100 of these bills were worth only £100 sterling. Great Britain paid to that colony £180,000 sterling for expenses incurred by her in the expedition against Louisburg in the last mentioned year, with which she redeemed her bills at the rate of fifty shillings per ounce of silver.

When the troubles of the Revolution commenced, Congress, having no other resource for revenue, had recourse to the system of paper money, and the provinces did the same to a large amount. In 1775, Congress issued bills of credit to the amount of \$3,000,000; and to force their circulation, and prevent their return for redemption, it made them by resolution a lawful tender, and declared a refusal to receive them an extinguishment of the debt for which they were offered for payment. This was a sort of forced loan, and Congress declared, January 11, 1776, that '*whoever should refuse to receive in payment Continental bills, should be regarded and treated as enemies to their country, and be precluded from intercourse with its inhabitants.*' 'Until the amount,' says Mr. Jefferson, 'exceeded \$9,000,000, the bills passed at their nominal value, after which the depreciation was great.'

This Continental money formed almost the entire circulating medium of the country during the Revolution, and accounts were kept in it; but the specie value was generally entered as eleven to one. August 30, 1775, the Provincial Congress of New York ordered an emission of bills to the amount of £45,000, in sums from ten to half a dollar; and March 5, 1776, they ordered \$137,000 more. August 13, 1776, they again resolved to issue bills of credit for \$500,000 in sums from one shilling to ten dollars. In the same Congress, May, 28, 1776, it was resolved that Thomas Harriot had violated the resolutions of Congress, in refusing to receive Continental bills in payment; and that he be held up to the public as an enemy to his country. It seems he was afterwards imprisoned for the like offence. January 14, 1777, the Continental Congress declared that bills of credit issued by their authority, *ought* to pass current in all payments; and they recommended the State Legislatures to make them a lawful tender; that a refusal to receive them should work a forfeiture of the debt; and that persons so conducting *ought* to be declared enemies to the Liberties of the United States. In 1780 they were worth only one-half, and continued to fall

until \$500 dollars and even more of these bills were required to buy a pound of tea, and \$100 to buy a pair of boots. The next year (1781) they entirely stopped, except at one hundred for one, under the funding system established by the National Government. Out of several hundred millions issued by the Continental and the different Provincial Congresses, probably more than four hundred millions are still held by public bodies and by individuals, which are entirely worthless except as matters of curiosity. This is the more to be regretted, since the loss fell the oftenest on the worn-out soldier and the honest patriot.

General Alexander Hamilton, Secretary of the Treasury, on January 9, 1790, made a long and able report to Congress on the subject of preserving the public credit, in which he advocated the redemption of these Continental bills, and affirmed that the public credit was a matter of the highest importance to the honor and prosperity of the United States, which could be supported only by good faith and a punctual performance of contracts. 'The debt of the United States,' he says, 'was the price of liberty. The faith of America has been repeatedly pledged for it, and with solemnities that give peculiar force to the obligation. To justify and preserve public confidence, to promote the increasing respectability of the American name, to answer the calls of justice, to sustain landed property in its true value, to furnish new resources both to agriculture and commerce, to cement more closely the Union of States, to add to their security against foreign attack, to establish public order on the basis of an upright and liberal policy, are the great and valuable ends to be secured by a proper and adequate provision for the support of public credit. The nature of the contract upon the face of the bills is, that the public will pay to the holder the sum therein expressed; and it was from this circumstance that the bills were ever received or circulated as money.' His advice was not heeded. About \$80,000,000 was paid to refund expenses incurred by the different States during the Revolution; and \$400,000,000 of Continental currency remains unredeemed to this day. The great excuse for non-redemption was the extensive counterfeiting of them during the few years of their issue."

We see from this how our people were obliged to meet the expenses of our Revolutionary conflict without pecuniary remuneration. The leaders compelled them to take as money promises to pay that were never fulfilled; and the million had to bear the loss. So it is in nearly, if not quite, every Revolution; and so will the conductors of the rebel Confederacy find it with a witness. They have from the start gone almost entirely "on tick," or the strength of men's promises to pay what will ere long be scarce worth the paper on which they are printed; and the chief claims of the rebel leaders for smartness will hereafter be found in the strange and fatal facility with which they succeeded in deluding their followers at home, and their sympathizers abroad.

RESULTS OF TEMPERANCE IN ARMY CAMPS.—In the English army in India, the proportion of deaths is almost exactly as *one* for teetotalers, *two* for temperate, and *four* for intemperate; so that while one in 90 of the teetotalers dies annually, one in 42 1-2 dies among the temperate, and one in 22 1-2 among the intemperate. The punishment of teetotalers were 23 per cent., of the temperate 58, and of the intemperate 170 per cent. Where one teetotaler is cut off, four intemperate men lose their lives; and in regimental courts-martial, where but one teetotal soldier in 200 is subject to punishment, 28 intemperate men are punished.

LONDON PEACE SOCIETY.

This Society held its forty-eighth Anniversary in London, May 17th, with a goodly array of distinguished names on the platform. JOSEPH PEASE, its Quaker President, well known and highly honored on both sides of the Atlantic, Samuel Bowly, another Quaker of eminent ability and eloquence, our countryman, Elihu Burritt, Rev. James Long, whose communications and labors are familiar to all readers, Rev. Henry Richards, the Society's gifted and devoted Secretary, together with Drs. Bowery, Correr and Campbell, and a long list of other names from England, India and America.

FINANCES.—May 15th, 1863, there was on hand 441l, 11s, 1d, (\$2,205); income for the year, 1,492l, 5s, (\$7,470); expenditures, 1,879l, 12s, 3d, (\$9,395); leaving in hand a balance of 54l, 3s, 10d, (\$220). It thus appears that the Society spent nearly \$2,000 more than its income, and yet received during the year more than thrice as much as was contributed for the cause in our own country.

ABSTRACT OF REPORT.—The Committee meet their friends on this occasion, if not with the cheerful hopes they might have entertained a few years ago, yet in no mood of misgiving or uncertainty. They feel neither doubt as to the soundness of their principles, nor despondency as to their ultimate success. Nay, they believe that even in the midst of these troublous times, and partly perhaps by reason of them, those principles are silently working their way like leaven in the heart of society; and, while the members of this association are still assailed with reproach and ridicule, there are symptoms on all hands that some of the ideas they have been propagating, and the measures they have proposed, are being more and more seriously entertained, even by men in authority, as the only means possible of escaping out of the turmoil of anarchy and blood that torments the world. At home they cannot but hope that a wiser and more Christian temper is beginning to prevail. As the after-swell of the Russian war more and more subsides, men have reason to reflect on its character and results; and the more they reflect the less satisfaction do they feel in the remembrance of that unhappy episode in our history. Many of our countrymen are growing a little ashamed of the groundless and rather ridiculous panics into which they were betrayed a few years ago, and for the indulgence of which they feel they are still paying a rather exorbitant price. Abroad, from many unexpected quarters, in France, in Germany, in Italy, in India, the Friends of Peace are startled by hearing the echo of their own voice returning to them in distinct and emphatic tones. Nor is it without encouraging significance to find their principles springing up spontaneously among the young communities which are growing up on the other side of the globe. Within the last two or three years the Committee have been gratified to learn that, without any direct instigation of theirs, though under an impulse derived from their labors and publications, small bodies of earnest men are engaged in diffusing the doctrines of this Society in Sidney and Adelaide, and New Zealand.

On the whole, then, there is no reason to despond even in the aspect of events; while, in the Christian principles upon which this Association is based, there is ground for full assurance of faith. To these they intend by divine help to adhere through good report and through evil report. We may be and are blamed even by Christian men for the tenacity with which we adhere to abstract principles; but the whole history of mankind proves that those who

have the courage to hold fast by abstract principles, are men that, in the long run, govern the world.

GENERAL OPERATIONS.—These have been very much as usual. Three lecturers,—Messrs. Stokes, Fry and O'Neal,—have been kept in the field during the greater part of the year. A brief review is given of their labors.

Publications.—Besides the usual steady issue of the Society's standard publications, *The Herald of Peace* is being sent during the present year to 500 gentlemen, partly clergymen of the Established Church, and partly members of various municipal bodies. The Committee have also published an able Essay by Professor Leone Levi, on the "Christian Unlawfulness of War." They purchased, moreover, 500 copies of a little work by Mr. John Burton, in which the Christian argument against war is put with great fidelity and force. With a view to give as effectual a circulation as possible to these works, they sent parcels of them to their friends in the country, with a request that they would take means to get them into the hands of Sunday School teachers, and other intelligent young persons of the same class in some other cities and towns.

The American Rebellion.—On this subject, which our English friends refuse to call *Rebellion*, we quote all they say:—"In turning to notice some of the special operations in which they have been engaged during the year, the Committee have only to express their regret at the continuance of the deplorable conflict in the United States. They need hardly say that the question has frequently and painfully engaged their attention, whether there was anything they could do, beyond what they had already done in reference to this war. But the conclusion which has been reluctantly forced upon them is, that while the public mind in that country is so fearfully inflamed by passion, all attempts at remonstrance or meditation would only serve to exasperate the evil. They can, therefore, only stand by, and pray the God of all peace mercifully to interpose to stay this suicidal strife, which threatens to become, as it is the nature of all war, and especially of all civil war to become, more ruthless and sanguinary the longer it lasts. And if the horrible news which has reached this country be true, as there is too much reason to believe it is, that the Southerners are beginning to massacre the negro soldiers and their white officers, this will inevitably lead to retaliation, and that will become continually more savage, until there is great reason to fear the conflict will degenerate more and more into mere ferocious and indiscriminate butchery.

Surely, the present condition of things in America, and still more the dreadful prospect which the future presents,—for there is no rational probability of the war coming to a speedy end by the military predominance of either side,—ought to awaken reflection in the minds of those good people in this country, who, misled by sympathies that were true and generous, have been tempted to encourage one of the parties in this conflict, because they hoped that out of the evil good might come. Surely, they must also begin to suspect that rapine and slaughter and devastation cannot be the right means, or the means which God will bless, for promoting the ends of Christian philanthropy.

This reference to our country we regard as quite an improvement upon the course taken by the Society during the early stages of the Rebellion; but even now they cautiously abstain from censuring the wholesale violations of law in this case any more than they do the men who are simply trying to enforce law, and seem to claim no little merit for impartiality in treating both sides alike, the men who commit crime, and those who strive in a legal way to prevent

and punish it. Should we treat England in this way, would there be no outcry of complaint, and with good reason? We are surprised at such lack of discrimination.

Relations with Japan.—After an abstract of the facts on this subject which we have already published, the report says: "The Committee also communicated with their friends in the country, entreating them to follow the same course, or else to petition Parliament, and put themselves in communication with their representatives in the House of Commons. The Secretary, moreover, prepared a pamphlet in which the whole history, not only of the destruction of Kagosima, but of our intercourse with Japan from the beginning, was detailed from the official documents, and the works of various travellers who have visited the country since it was opened to the commerce of the Western world. When the question was brought forward by Mr. Buxton, the official spokesman for the Government virtually conceded the whole case, when in the course of the debate he cited a certain despatch that had been written by the Foreign Secretary, after the catastrophe had taken place, intended as he said, 'to prevent the recurrence of such a misfortune,' which, if it had only been written before, would have rendered its occurrence impossible.

It is a significant and satisfactory circumstance that the perpetrators of this outrage have been brought to feel that they were put upon their defence, and that the people of England required some explanation from them for so barbarous an act. It proves that the public opinion of this country is not powerless even at the extremity of the globe. And perhaps we may be permitted to say, it proves, moreover, that a Peace party is not without its uses, were it only to watch over and hold in check the wanton abuse of England's tremendous power by those in whose hands it is placed in distant lands; a power which they seem to think they have a right to wield of their own will, but for which the nation pays, not in money only, but in reputation, and for which it is held responsible in the sight of God and man.

Arbitration and Disarmament.—The Committee have for many years advocated, and pressed upon the attention of governments and peoples, certain practical measures, the tendency of which they believe, if adopted, would be greatly to diminish the risk of war, and increase the securities of peace. Among these measures were—first, a system of Stipulated Arbitration, which might gradually ripen into something like a permanent Congress of Nations, whereby the disputes arising between States might be referred to the decision of reason and justice, rather than to that of the sword; and, secondly, an arrangement between the various governments of the civilized world for a mutual and simultaneous reduction of those enormous armaments which, on the principle of reciprocal rivalry which now prevails, are constantly increasing, and must constantly increase, even during peace, until they threaten to swamp both the resources and liberties of the nation in one vast and bottomless abyss. These, it is well known, were among the proposals which the Friends of Peace brought forward at those great popular congresses which were held in several of the leading capitals of Europe ten or twelve years ago.

Louis Napoleon's proposed Congress.—When the Committee found, towards the close of last year, that those very measures for which they had so long contended, had, in principle, been adopted and proclaimed by the most powerful prince in Europe, it was impossible for them not to feel the deepest interest in such an event. When the emperor Napoleon met the French Chambers at the end of October, after adverting to the various critical questions that at that moment threatened the peace of Europe, he added, "What, then, can be more legitimate and more sensible than to invite the Powers of Europe to a

Congress, in which self-interest and resistance would disappear before a supreme arbitration? What more conformable to the ideas of the epoch, to the will of the greater number, than to speak to the consciences and reason of the statesmen of every country, and to say to them, 'Have not the prejudices and rumors which divided us, lasted long enough? Shall the jealous rivalries of the great powers unceasingly impede the progress of civilization? Are we still to maintain mutual distrust by exaggerated armaments? Must our most precious resources be indefinitely exhausted in a vain display of our forces? Must we eternally maintain a condition of things which is neither peace with its securities, nor war with its happy chances? Let us have the courage to substitute, for a sickly and precarious condition of things, a situation solid and regular, even should it cost us some sacrifices. Let us assemble, without preconceived system, without exclusive ambition, animated alone by the thought of establishing an order of things founded for the future on the well-understood interests of both sovereigns and peoples.'

To give effect to these ideas, the Emperor, as is well known, formally invited all the Sovereigns and States of Europe to meet by their representatives in an International Congress at Paris. In this remarkable document he says: 'If I take the initiative in such an overture, I do not yield to an impulse of vanity; but, as I am the Sovereign most credited with ambitious projects, I have it at heart to prove by a frank and loyal step that my sole object is to arrive without a shock at the pacification of Europe.' The great majority of the Courts adhered without reserve to this proposition; a small number accompanied their adhesion with certain restrictions. England alone positively refused. The Committee, remembering the part they had taken for so many years on the subjects of arbitration and disarmament, the expediency of which they had ventured to press upon all the Sovereigns of Europe, and among others upon the Emperor of the French, they felt they would be guilty of utter faithlessness to their own principles, if they did not in some form express their pleasure and gratitude at this marked recognition of the beneficent principles for which they had so long contended, by one exercising so vast an influence over the destinies of Europe. It has pleased some to say that, however excellent the proposal might be in itself, no favor should have been shown to it because it might be a mere cover for some selfish and sinister purpose which its author was meditating. But suspicion is not always synonymous with wisdom; and, if the Emperor entertained such projects, the very last thing he would have dreamt of doing would have been to invite the representatives of all the Powers, including, as they must have done, the most astute and experienced statesmen of their respective countries, to come to Paris to watch him plotting against the interests and peace of Europe. But the Committee utterly repudiate their right to put this base interpretation on the Emperor's act. They hold that when a man, occupying the position he does, makes, with all apparent openness and sincerity, an overture tending to the well-being of humanity such as rarely emanates from a throne, he is entitled to have his motives fairly and generously construed.

Non-Intervention.—The report expresses much pleasure at the reluctance of the British Government to interfere "in the American, Polish, and Dano-German wars. It is encouraging to see this increasing disposition to accept and act upon the principle of non-intervention for which this Society has so long and so strenuously contended. They cannot but hope that in course of time, our statesmen will be inclined to give this doctrine a wider application, and to acknowledge the wisdom of abstaining not only from armed intervention, but from diplomatic intermeddling. They trust that the conviction will gradually dawn upon the mind both of the Government and the people of this country, that England has really no call to take the place of Providence in

regard to the other nations of the earth, to prescribe to them forms of government, to regulate their relations with each other, to teach them lessons of political morality, and, generally, to advise, lecture, and threaten all mankind into good behavior."

We deeply regret that the Society did not, *in response to our early and urgent entreaties*, use what influence it could to hold their own Government back from their "intermeddling" with our affairs by the concession of belligerent rights to our rebels; a blunder and a crime, the baleful effects of which are pretty sure to come after our rebellion is over; an act that England did not venture upon in the case of the Polish rebels against Russia, and if she had, the Peace Society would doubtless have been prompt and earnest to resist by all the means at their command. We find it difficult to explain why the Society, so outspoken in many cases less important, has been so silent respecting what has been done by Englishmen, all over the world, to encourage, uphold, and exasperate our rebellion. On this point we need more light than we now have.

Two Methods of controlling Men.—There are two methods of governing human nature and human society which have been struggling for predominance ever since the introduction of Christianity. The one aspires to rule man through his body; the other through his soul. The one puts his trust in military force; the other in moral and spiritual influence. The one uses as its instruments, terror and violence; the other, truth and love. The one is the offspring of human policy; the other is the emanation of Divine wisdom. The one relies for success upon man's arm of flesh; the other on the power of the living God. The Peace Society espouses, and, to the best of its ability, champions the latter of these two methods. The professing Christian world has for the most part, for eighteen centuries, clung tenaciously to the former. And with what results? With this among other results, that at this moment the Governments of the so-called Christian nations are spending in fighting and in preparing to fight ten times, a hundred times more, than all they bestow to promote art, science, literature, health, education, morality and religion among their people. That in Europe alone these same Governments are seen to take four millions of their young men, the very flower of their ripest manhood, withdrawing them from the occupations of civil life, to devote themselves to the work of learning and practicing the trade of destroying their fellow-men. And this, be it observed, they deem themselves *obliged* to do, by the sheer terror of each other which the system they have adopted inspires. This surely cannot be called success!

But will *our* method succeed better? It will succeed if it is fairly tried, tried in the spirit of its Author, and in reliance upon His help. But it is an indispensable condition of success, that those who try it, should have implicit and unfaltering faith in its efficacy. We shall not succeed if in moments of extreme danger and temptation — if when the battle with evil waxes hot and dangerous, we are inspired with sudden distrust, cast away from us the celestial armor in which our Master has equipped us for the conflict, and hastily snatch up the arms of flesh we are forbidden to use. So acting, we shall not only suffer defeat ourselves, but we shall dishonor the name and indefinitely postpone the triumphs of the principles we profess to reverence. At all times and in all circumstances, it is a fatal mistake to attempt to fight God's battles with the devil's weapons."

Every honest mind must see that there is a great deal of truth in this repre-

sentation. Why, then, are men so slow in receiving it? Chiefly, as we conceive, from their well-nigh universal war-habits of mind, and from the fact that the logic of peace, as here represented, ignores, if it does not contradict and censure as wrong, the right of civil government to coerce and punish crime. Such right is to most minds far more clear and decisive than any arguments yet adduced in favor of peace; and, thus driven to the alternative of giving up either peace or government, they are constrained to keep hold of the latter at all events, and wait for more light, or more auspicious times, before they venture upon the former. Could they see the *consistency of peace with government*, we might expect them to accept them both. Our own Society have always avowed such consistency; and until this position is well understood and put in practice, we have little hope of any wide or permanent influence of peace principles.

Speakers.—There were four speeches, by Samuel Bowly, Elihu Burritt, Rev. Paxton Hood, and Rev. James Long, in support of two resolutions, one upon a Congress of Nations proposed by Louis Napoleon, and the other upon non-intervention. We have no space for extracts from these able and interesting addresses, but cannot refrain from recording the fact, stated by Mr. Long from India, while referring "to the great hindrance which the former war-policy of England had caused to the spread of the Gospel in India, there is now a very great improvement in that respect. He thought the present prospects of the success of peace principles were very encouraging; and he believed that, if Poland had not taken up arms as she had done, she would by this time have stood in a far better position than she at present does."

GENERAL BUTLER'S FAMOUS ORDER ABOUT THE REBEL WOMEN IN NEW ORLEANS.—We were, says he, 2,500 men in a city seven miles long by two to four wide, of a hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, all hostile, bitter, defiant, explosive, standing literally on a magazine; a spark only needed for destruction. The devil had entered the hearts of the women to stir up strife in every possible way. Every opprobrious epithet, every insulting gesture, was made by these be-jeweled, be-crinolined and laced creatures, calling themselves ladies, toward my soldiers and officers, from the windows of houses and on the streets. How long do you suppose our flesh and blood could have stood this without retort? That would lead to disturbances and riot, from which we must clear the streets with artillery, and then a howl that we had murdered these fine women. I had arrested the man who *hurrahed* for Beauregard. Could I arrest the women? No. What was to be done? No order could be made, save one that would execute itself. With anxious, careful thought I hit upon this: "Women who insult my soldiers, are to be regarded and treated as common women plying their vocation." How do you treat a common woman plying her vocation in the streets? You pass her by unheeded. She cannot insult you. It is only when she becomes a continuous and positive nuisance that you call a watchman, and give her in charge to him. Why, these she-adders of New Orleans themselves were at once tamed into propriety of conduct by the order; and from that day no woman ever insulted any live soldier or officer, and of a certainty no soldier insulted any woman.

EUROPEAN CONGRESS.

CORRESPONDENCE ON LOUIS NAPOLEON'S PROPOSITION.

Napoleon's proposal of a special Congress for Europe was published in full at the time; and as our readers may like to know how it was received by different Governments, we give an abstract of the principal replies:—

EMPEROR OF RUSSIA.—While admitting the sad state of affairs in Europe, and the usefulness of an agreement between the sovereigns to whom the destinies of nations is entrusted, your Majesty expresses an idea which has always been my own. A loyal understanding between the sovereigns has always appeared to me desirable. I should be happy if the proposition issued by your Majesty may lead to it; but, in order that it may be practical, it can only proceed from the consent of the other Powers; and to obtain this result, I believe it indispensable for your Majesty to define clearly the questions which, in your opinion, should become the subject of an understanding. I can, in any case, assure your Majesty that the end which you pursue, that of arriving without a shock at the pacification of Europe, will always secure my strongest sympathies.

KING OF PRUSSIA.—Your Majesty, in writing to me the letter which your ambassador presented to me on the 13th of November, must have been convinced that the generous sentiment which inspired you, would be responded to with cordial assent by a sovereign having at heart the welfare of nations, and that I could not decline joining in the noble object which your Majesty proposes to the European powers, by inviting them to a general Congress.

KING OF ITALY.—I adhere with pleasure to the proposal of your Imperial Majesty. My concurrence and that of my people are assured to the realization of this project, which will mark a great progress in the history of mankind. It is my most sincere wish that the initiative of wisdom and concord which your Imperial Majesty has taken in hand, may prevent the dangers of war, and increase the friendly relations between nations.

KING OF SWEDEN AND NORWAY.—I feel that I must without delay reply to your proposition to take part in a Congress, which your Majesty proposes should meet in Paris, the object of which is to secure the base for the maintenance of general peace in Europe. All which can contribute to an object so much to be desired can but meet with my approval; and I, therefore, immediately inform your Majesty that I accept your invitation. Should the object which your Majesty has proposed be attained, you will have gained imperishable honor by taking the initiative in a work calculated to promote the welfare of ruler and people.

KING OF DENMARK.—Your Majesty has taken the glorious initiative of endeavoring to submit the decision of the questions now pending in Europe to the arbitrament of reason and justice rather than to the force of arms. Denmark has decided to adhere frankly and without reserve to your Majesty's generous efforts for the realization of this grand idea. I, therefore, accept with real pleasure your Majesty's invitation to take part in the European Congress.

KING OF THE NETHERLANDS.—I respond to the generous idea of your Majesty; and am willing to join all the other sovereigns of Europe in realizing the noble object your Majesty has in view.

KING OF THE BELGIANS.—It would certainly be most desirable if, by the

effect of a pacific agreement, the existing causes of anxiety in Europe could be settled; and, without at present expressing an opinion upon the means of coming to an understanding with the different states interested, to attain without a collision so noble an object, I am happy to assure your Imperial Majesty that my government would be quite inclined to join in it so far as it could do so. As regards my own personal feelings, I should take advantage of the cordial proposal of your Imperial Majesty with the greatest satisfaction.

KING OF PORTUGAL.—I perform an agreeable duty in announcing to your Imperial Majesty that I unhesitatingly adhere to your conciliatory proposition, and that I participate, with all my heart, in the sentiment which inspired it. Congresses *after* war are ordinarily the consecration of the advantages of the strongest, and the treaties which result therefrom, resting rather on facts than on rights, create forced positions, resulting in that general uneasiness which gives rise to violent protests and armed demands. A Congress *before* war, with the object of preventing it, is, in my opinion, a nobler idea of progress. Whatever be its issue, the glory of having laid the foundations of so new and philosophic a principle will always rest with France.

KING OF BAVARIA.—I cannot but render full justice to the lofty sentiments with which the proposal of your Imperial Majesty is impressed. I believe, with pleasure, that this proposal, followed by subsequent explanations on the subject, will be received by the Powers directly interested in the solution of these questions in the manner which is indispensable to assure its success. In this supposition I do not hesitate to adhere to the proposition of your Imperial Majesty, and I shall esteem myself happy to concur in the work of general pacification by taking part in the future conferences.

THE POPE.—The thought which your Majesty expresses of being able to establish without shock in Europe, and, with God's blessing, elsewhere also, with the concurrence of the sovereigns and their representatives, a system which calms men's minds, and restores peace, tranquility and order to the numerous countries where, unhappily, these benefits are lost, is a design which greatly honors your Majesty, and which, with the co-operation of all, assisted by divine grace, would produce the best results. We co-operate, therefore, in so laudable a project in a perfectly cordial spirit.

THE SWISS CONFEDERATION.—The Swiss Confederation, to which nature, as well as history and treaties, has assigned a neutral position in the midst of Europe, knows how to appreciate all the benefits of peace. It understands the inestimable value of a free and reciprocal consecration of the rights and duties of each; the true basis of a sincere and cordial understanding between the nations. We can only, therefore, accept with eagerness the overture which your Majesty has deigned to make.

Every Government in Europe, except that of England, expressed its assent to the proposed Congress; but the correspondence of the latter on the subject seems to us utterly unworthy of her character and commanding position. Her reasons for declining must strike every fair, honest mind as insincere, captious and puerile. We cannot account for the strangely inconsistent stand she took; and we think she will long rue the day she assumed the fearful responsibility of defeating so hopeful an effort for the permanent pacification of Europe.

We quote a few items of the somewhat spicy correspondence between the British and French governments on the subject. "It will be remembered that, among the reasons assigned by the Emperor in his speech at the opening

of the French Chambers for suggesting the idea of a Congress which he then first mooted, one was expressed in these remarkable words:—‘Have not the prejudices and rancors which divided us lasted long enough? Shall the jealous rivalries of the great Powers unceasingly impede the progress of civilization? Are we still to maintain mutual distrust by exaggerated armaments? Must our precious resources be indefinitely exhausted in a vain display of our forces?’ M. Drouyn de L’Huys, in his reply to Lord Russell’s letter asking for explanation, says, in language, if possible, still more explicit:—‘Must we renounce, without fresh attempts at conciliation, the hope of lightening the burthen imposed on the nations by the disproportionate armaments occasioned by mutual mistrust?’ Surely, such an overture as this, coming from such a quarter, was entitled to some respectful notice. Our official men have professed to find in the character and policy and great military preparations of the Emperor of the French, a justification for the enormous increase which they have made in our own warlike armaments during the last ten or twelve years; but when this Prince, of whom they have been making a bugbear by which to fright the Isle from its propriety, and from all provident regard for its own purse, proposes to meet them expressly for the purpose of concerting a reduction of those “exaggerated armaments” of which they pretend to consider him as the occasion, they have, not one word of approval, or even of friendly recognition, to offer to the proposal.

The other point to which we referred was this. It will be remembered that at the Paris Congress of 1856, the plenipotentiaries, on the motion of Lord Clarendon, the British representative, adopted a remarkable resolution, recommending the signatory Powers to the new treaties, should any difference arise between them hereafter, before having recourse to war, to invite the friendly mediation of some other Power. Well, M. Drouyn de L’Huys, in arguing the question of the Congress with Lord Russell, adverted, as was most natural, to that resolution in these words:—‘At one of the last meetings of the Congress of Paris, the Earl of Clarendon, invoking a stipulation of the treaty of peace which had just been signed, and which recommended recourse to the mediation of a friendly State before resorting to force, in the event of dissension arising between the Porte and others of the signatory Powers, expressed the opinion ‘that this happy innovation might receive a more general application, and thus become a barrier against conflicts which frequently only break forth because it is not always possible to enter into explanation, and to come to an understanding. The plenipotentiaries of all the courts concurred unanimously in the intention of their colleague, and did not hesitate to express, in the names of their governments, the wish that States, between which any serious misunderstanding may arise, should have recourse to friendly mediation before appealing to arms.’

Well does the Herald of Peace characterize the English part of this correspondence as “very disheartening productions,” and as betraying a strange and discreditable reluctance to lift the wheels of European policy out of the ruts into which they have been sinking deeper and deeper for centuries, without receiving any welcome or help at their hands. They cannot forsake precedent, come what may. ‘The treaty of Westphalia and the treaty of Utrecht were not revised at the end of fifty years; then why should the treaty of Vienna be? Former Congresses, to arrange difficult European questions, only took place at the end of bloody and desolating wars of twenty or thirty years’ duration; therefore it is no use whatever trying to arrange such questions now before war has broken forth, and so by timely counsel and mutual concession endeavor to avert war. No, no; if you want a Congress, wait until Europe has been plunged into another general war of thirty years’ duration, and then you may do something.’ Such seems to be Lord Russell’s reasoning. We

cannot see what possible harm could have come of the Congress, while we can see what immense advantages *might* have flowed from it to Europe and the world. It is hard to believe that some, at least, of the problems which threaten war to the nations, could not have been finally solved by such an assembly; but, even if it had failed in all, matters would only have been left where they are now; and to fail in such an enterprise as that, would have been more honorable to the civilization and Christianity of the nineteenth century, than to succeed in most of the enterprises that have been undertaken by the princes and states of Christendom for the last fifty years.

SOCIAL EFFECTS OF WAR.—Said one writing from Shanghai, soon after the war in 1860, "The poor Chinese are in a frightful state of excitement. On one side the rebels threaten destruction if they are found in any way identified with the Imperialists; on the other hand the French and English (especially the former) are committing dreadful outrages upon life and property to deter the people from embracing the rebel cause. Between these two opposing forces, the poor Chinese seem destined to be victims. Refugees throng the streets, and many poor creatures are perishing from exposure and hunger. It is no uncommon thing to see families, consisting of the parents and children of two or three generations, sitting by the wayside in the most utter destitution. These poor creatures are becoming so numerous that any attempt to relieve them by contributions seems hopeless. It is shocking to contemplate the suffering that must come upon these wretched victims of war during the approaching inclement winter."

FACTS ABOUT FRANCE.—*Wealth of France.*—The real estate of France is valued at \$16,600,000,000, and the personal property at \$24,000,000,000. Total \$40,600,000,000. Our own in 1860 was a little more than \$16,000,000,000, only two-fifths as much.

French Suicides.—Recent statistics prove that over ten suicides take place every day in France. Last year four thousand wretched ones put an end to their own life.

PERSONAL EXPENSES INCIDENT TO WAR.—Among the countless ways in which this rebellion is incidentally taxing our people, are the expenses incurred by friends in bringing home the bodies of fallen soldiers. In most of the leading newspapers are found advertisements offering to perform this sad service. It recently cost \$250 to get the body of a New Hampshire soldier from Baton Rouge to the home of his friends, and this a regular charge. At this rate, or anything like it, how many millions will have been spent for this purpose alone!

LOSS OF LIFE IN WAR NOT KNOWN.—We can seldom get at the time any reliable account of the lives actually sacrificed in war. We must wait till the conflict is over; and even then we can learn only a fraction of the real truth. It never would be fully known, if it would be believed, what vast multitudes are crushed beneath this mammoth Juggernaut of Christendom. We do not venture even to guess how many have already perished in our Slaveholder's Rebellion.

CONGRESS OF NATIONS:

OR, INTERNATIONAL PREVENTIVES OF WAR.

It was a curious coincidence that the morning after the recent Anniversary, 17th May, of the London Peace Society, the *London Times* published an elaborate article on this subject, with a commendation quite unusual for that Ishmaelitic journal.

THE EDITOR'S ENDORSEMENT.

A scheme of this sort, though rendered doubly interesting by the present disturbed state of international relations, is by no means new in the history of the world. On the final settlement of every great disturbance of the map of Europe, some one has suggested means whereby such another derangement of the order of the civilized world shall be avoided. The Abbé ST. PIERRE, who attended the Conferences which led to the Peace of Utrecht, published a scheme of union among Christian nations, by which all disputed questions were to be referred to an European Council, the decision of which, if affirmed by three-fourths of the votes, should be final. The idea of the Holy Alliance, as proposed by the Emperor Alexander, was based on a desire to repress tumults by an exercise of the will of the majority. In our own times Mr. Cobden has more than once proposed a reference of all international quarrels to arbitration; and at the instance of Lord Clarendon, the Plenipotentiaries at Paris put on record a declaration that in cases of disagreement between States a reference to some friendly mediator should precede a recourse to arms.

A preliminary objection to almost every proposal which has been brought forward for a standing Council of the Nations is, that the proposers have not determined whether the Council shall exercise functions deliberative and judicial, or simply judicial. There are many weighty considerations which may be brought against the establishment of a supreme body of law-makers, which would apply with less force to a deliberative assembly, and still less to one which simply decided questions which arose in practice. Even if the Council had only this last judicial duty, it is not apparent how it would be constituted, or in what proportions the several States should be represented, so that the independence of the least might be preserved equally with the dignity of the most mighty. It is probable that, *were such a Council created, its decisions would generally be accepted*; but it would be necessary that there should be always power ready to enforce them, if necessary; and it may be doubted whether the nations are yet sufficiently united to feel bound to help in enforcing a judgment in which they themselves might be a little interested. In truth, the great obstacle to united action lies in the sharp lines of demarcation which still insulate every State; and, until the intercourse of commerce has indefinitely increased, the sentiment of independent life will be too powerful to permit any diminution of individual importance. The history of the Middle Ages, exhibiting on every side the fusion of provinces into a kingdom, may show us the influences which must be brought to bear upon nations before they will own a common authority. A community of feeling and of ideas must in some sort be realized; and how far we are at present from this may be gathered from a consideration of the different views held by the Governments of Europe on such a fundamental question as the respective claims of popular opinion and dynastic rights.

INTERNATIONAL REMEDIES.

"Peace, the essence of Christianity, is the condition which brings human nature in closest contact with the Divinity. Those whom the Creator has endowed with

extraordinary faculties work together for peace. The object of every eminent man — of the statesman, the financier, the capitalist, the manufacturer, the engineer, the lawyer, the writer, — is peace. Even among those who for temporary purposes desire war, ultimate peace is the pretext, without which no dreams of conquest or of glory will stir up the nations of the world to slaughter.

Thus, since the establishment of Christianity, the endeavor of States has been to found their policy on justice and humanity, therefore on peace. This policy has acted on the efforts of individuals. Those efforts have reacted on the policy of States. It is hard to say to which party belongs the initial merit; whether rulers have stimulated the peaceful functions of their subjects, or whether those functions have prompted the rulers to organize, consolidate and improve institutions by which the exertions of their people have flourished. The governed are now outstripping the governors in their contributions to general tranquility. In commerce and industry, international co-operation is necessary for any great scheme. Exhibitions, telegraphs, railways, banks, financial societies, and even building speculations, are undertaken jointly by members of more than one race. There is but one joint-stock company really limited in its transactions and not in its liabilities; it is that of which the directors are kings, and the shareholders the human race. It is there where votes of confidence are fewest, and where auditors are seldom heard; where suspicion takes the place of credit, and where the dividends are always the wrong way.

My ideas are not Utopian. I do not regard as possible by any human means, the annihilation of war. I should be the last to propose the reduction of our armaments, except contemporaneously with reductions elsewhere. I do consider it necessary to maintain the *prestige* of the country, which cannot be lowered without impairing, not only our honor, but our moral value and our material interests. Yet, while I look on war as the sword of justice among nations, the last and sometimes the inevitable appeal, I see that means *can* be devised to render remote what is now more than probable, and to make it as little needful for nations to keep up large armaments, as it is for citizens in a civilized state to set about their daily labor with sword and buckler.

Each stride of science tends to universal peace. It is a curious fact that the invention which gives us in perfection appliances of peace cannot devise satisfactory instruments of war. Daily are new devices pouring in upon us, often from rude journeymen, which, unquestioned, take their places in our industry, spare our labor, and add to our wealth; while inventive minds cannot agree on any one principle of offence or defence, but fight with each other and the Government, spending good gold, iron, talent, and handiwork on guns that best do not satisfy all, and on plating which those guns easily pierce. It is, perhaps, not less curious that, while private enterprise, helped on by science, is knitting fellow-creatures together in the strictest community of interest, the guardians of those interests have not learnt to lighten their task; that in the midst of peace, war seems ever near; that, while everything tends to make the governed peaceable, governors seem more than ever at a loss how to keep the peace.

As we add to our merchant vessels, so we add to our fleet. Next door to new ware-houses we build new forts. We double our exports, and we found fresh cannon. We abolish our import duties, and our iron-clads are scouring the Channel. We make friendships with those we profess to distrust — the closer our alliance the nearer the chance of rupture; and our armaments are increased to guard against our firmest ally. We call ourselves belligerents; and we do not clearly know our rights. We declare ourselves neutral; and we do not understand our neutrality.

It is an axiom that no act is justifiable in public life which cannot bear the test of private morality. Could not this axiom be applied in its full extent to

the comity of nations? In other words, could we not as nations revise our public law? Could we not devise tribunals to administer that law?

Despatch-writing does not succeed in keeping the peace; why should diplomacy not be carried on to a certain extent by word of mouth? Might not a town be chosen by lot at which the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of first and second-rate Powers, accompanied by second plenipotentiaries and legal assessors, should meet in synod? Their first act would be to settle the bases of an international code. Like all legislative assemblies, the synod would then proceed to discuss such matters as formed the subject of difference or correspondence between states, and amicably suggest measures for their adjustment. Where arbitration was required, sub-committees would be formed for the purpose, and difficulties would thus be at once disposed of. This work over, another lot would decide the place of meeting for the next year. More work might thus be accomplished in a month, and more good fellowship insured, than by diplomatic correspondence in a year; and as every capital of Europe would in turn become the seat of the Congress, one element of jealousy is done away with.

A transitory Congress, such as those of Westphalia, Utrecht, Vienna and Paris, presents this defect, that it cannot detect or repair its own errors and readjust its own ordinances. Not six months after the Treaty of Paris of 1856 was published the American note, declining adhesion to the clause abolishing letters of marque.* The prompt action of a Congress might have at once dealt with a question which will, unless settled, produce formidable results in a war between the two sides of the Atlantic. Again, the arbitration proposal of Lord Clarendon, wise as it was in the abstract, from want of elaborate detail has proved almost a dead letter.

Such would not be the case if the Synod or Congress assumed a permanent character. Each session would repair the errors or supply the wants of the preceding, and the machinery of construction would be continuous with experience. While the ordinary business of diplomacy would be carried on by the resident legations, knotty or irritating points would be deferred for discussion at the Congress, or for direct conference at that meeting between the ministers whose Courts were interested. For emergencies sub-committees might be appointed, or mediatory tribunals chosen from the second Plenipotentiaries and legal assessors, or an understanding might be come to that in each State one of the ordinary tribunals should be named for deciding such international causes as any other State might wish to submit, from which tribunal the Congress should be the great Court of Appeal.

It is a law of nature that in friendly discussions suggestions are thrown out and expedients devised that otherwise would never see the light. Such would be the case in an assemblage representing the birth, the wealth, the talent, the experience, and hence the conciliatory spirit of all civilized nations—the work of diplomacy simplified and lessened; the mediatory clause of Paris, now optional, established as a fixed institution; questions of debate nipped in the bud, armaments reduced, hostilities anticipated, and a neutral field provided, at which, even during war, the representatives of belligerents might meet together and devise terms of peace. Such would be the results of the proposed scheme.

The question may be asked here, as it was by Lord Russell of the Emperor, by what means is it proposed to carry out the decrees of the Congress? At the time of the Emperor's proposal the question was difficult of solution. The suggestion that war was the executive instrument of the Congress suddenly proposed, while peace was not broken, presented an anomaly and a danger which, perhaps, more than anything else, justified our refusal. But a perma-

* But proposing more than the Paris Congress sought—the entire freedom of the seas, making life and property as sacred on water as now on land. To this England, if not the other leading powers, would not consent.

ment Congress would not be sudden in its action or unseasonable, if regular in its meetings. While intended to prevent war, it must keep war as a reserve, to be decided by circumstances. A body like this, when it has felt its influence, will of itself find methods to carry into effect its decrees. It will regulate the causes and consequences of war as well as those of peace; but war will be still less probable when a machinery has been instituted to concentrate in a tangible form the public opinion of all civilized countries, and to bring its full force to bear upon every great question. An aggressor would scarce venture to maintain his pretensions in such an assembly. A *casus belli*, when it does arise, will be clearly stated, and the terms of arrangement equally laid down. If war is forced on by the petulance or injustice of any member of the European family, it will be simplified, and its effects modified, by the declassified opinions of his brethren at the Congress. So long as human nature lasts, wars will be possible. It can be attempted only to lessen their probability."

To one who has studied with any care the vast question of a Congress of Nations, some portions of the above article may seem quite crude; but if the subject were once brought and kept fully before the public, it would in time reach well-defined, if not satisfactory conclusions.

STATISTICS OF RELIGION.—Those of the Congregationalists in Connecticut bring these up to the close of 1861, and show a decline of members for the three years preceding. "In 1858 the additions by profession were 5914; deaths, 729—gain, 5185. 1859, additions by profession were 736; deaths, 762—loss, 26. 1860, additions by profession were 571; deaths, 793—loss, 222. 1861, additions by profession were 498; deaths, 750—loss, 252. It will be noticed that all the gain during these four years comes from the year 1850, memorable for its great revival; that every year since, the deaths have exceeded the professions, and that this excess has increased from year to year."

We think such facts as these are a pretty fair index to the religious condition of most of the free loyal States, while those of all the rebel States, must of course be incomparably worse,—little else than one wild scene of spiritual barrenness and desolation. We have the last year heard of revivals in some portions of the North, but only in special cases, marked exceptions to the general rule. Despite all efforts to conceal or excuse the facts, the rebellion and our efforts for its suppression have been, and long must continue to be, a moral sirocco sweeping the whole land, and entailing on morals and religion a blight from which they can hardly recover in an entire generation.

NAVIES OF THE WORLD IN 1864.—It will be seen by the following table, that the United States now stands third on the list of naval powers. In less than ten years they will probably occupy the first position:

	Steamers.	S'l'g Vcs.	Guns.		Steamers.	S'l'g Vcs.	Guns.
Great Britain.....	568	185	14,050	Spain	37	45	904
France.....	280	189	8,876	Austria	22	64	852
United States.....	106	116	4,184	Portugal	6	33	862
Russia.....	98	65	2,013	Prussia	6	49	265
Italy.....	70	86	780	Greece.....	1	25	140
Sweden.....	20	288	920	Turkey	7	50	297
Norway.....	12	19	840	Brazil.....	17	27	276
Denmark.....	110	10	958	Peru.....	3	12	104
Holland.....	30	125	1,220	Chili.....	1	4	66
Belgium.....	5	2	28				

ITEMS ABOUT THE REBELLION.

WHOM THE REBELS PRESS INTO THEIR SERVICE.—Among a lot of rebel prisoners taken on Friday in front of Petersburg, were five gray-headed, gray-bearded men, the youngest of whom was sixty, and the oldest seventy-one years of age. All of them said they had been impressed into the rebel service. Several boys under fifteen were also among the number captured.—*N. Y. Times*, July, 1864.

PRICES IN REBELDOM.

From the tenor of these, we see not how anybody can live there; we must take such enormous prices as indicating not so much the scarcity of the articles, as the little value of the money paid for them.

GEORGIA PRICES.—The following prices current in Georgia are from one of the correspondents with Sherman's army: Wages per day, ploughing or splitting rails, \$5; flour per bbl., \$100; corn per bushel, \$20; bacon per lb., \$6; sweet potatoes per bushel, \$10; coffee per lb., \$16—none since the war; eggs per doz. \$2.50 and \$2; rice per lb., \$1; cheese—none to be had since the war; a good cow, \$200; a good cow with young calf, \$500; a good horse, \$4,000 or \$5,000; syrup per gallon, \$20; calico per yard, \$5, thin; cotton, domestic checks, \$10 per yard; women's shoes per pair, \$40, coarse; men's shoes per pair, \$50, coarse; ladies' shoes, fine, per pair \$100—none to be had; nails per pound, \$3; horse shoes per set, \$8; butter per lb., \$5.

VIRGINIA PRICES.—It seems that in Virginia commissioners have at length been appointed to fix prices, especially for the necessities of life; and, after consulting with farmers, military and business men in Richmond, they have agreed upon a new schedule, of which the following are specimens: "Wheat, \$30 per bushel; flour, \$150 and \$168 per barrel; corn, \$24 per bushel; corn meal, \$25.50 per bushel; bacon, hog round, \$5 per pound; lard, \$5 per pound; peas and beans, \$30 per bushel; Irish potatoes, \$10 per bushel; beef cattle, \$40 and \$50 per 100 pounds gross; sorghum molasses, \$20 per gallon." Well does the press in Richmond ask, "Can any government under the sun carry on a war and pay such prices? It is an obvious impossibility, and for the government to agree to pay such is simply to confess its currency valueless." But even these prices are far below what credible witnesses have reported from Virginia, and are doubtless concessions forced from sellers on behalf of needy and suffering buyers.

WESTERN LOUISIANA PRICES.—Flour, at \$3 a pound; eggs, \$8 a dozen; brown sugar, \$7 a pound; while a meal of victuals was lately thought cheap enough at \$15! This schedule of prices is in rebel money. A large enhancement of prices is perhaps inseparable from any long continued war; but this sudden and extreme derangement is ominous of financial ruin sooner or later. No people will or can very long bear such a state of things.

SECESSION SUICIDAL.—We have always regarded the theory underlying the rebellion as fatal to the permanency of any government. The leaders claimed the right to resist and overthrow at pleasure the government over them; and this principle, fairly applied, would allow every State, town and individual throughout rebeldom, to treat rebel authorities in the same way.

What would be the inevitable result? A gradual but sure lapse into general anarchy. The doctrine of secession, carried out to its legitimate results, would annihilate all real, reliable government.

We early foresaw that the rebel leaders would repudiate their own theory in practice. So they are doing already. "If North Carolina," says the *Richmond Examiner*, the chief organ of the Confederate Government, "cease to be a part of the Confederacy, and become a part of the Federal Union, which is at war with us, she thereby, on the instant, declares war against the Confederacy. That a State did, in the midst of the war, abandon her allies, deny her act, eat her words, and join her enemies against her friends, might be a brilliant historic record in the future; but it would not be peace; it would be only the beginning of war. It is not to be supposed that Virginia and South Carolina would submit to be cut asunder by the intervening country if that country should declare itself an enemy instead of a friend. They of course would treat it as an enemy, and would make unceremonious use of its railroads and short work of its towns."

PERSISTENCE OF THE REBELS.—We have from the first supposed the rebel leaders, with their all staked on the result, would continue this struggle just as long as they could retain their hold on the mass of the Southern people. Working with a halter about their necks, they must of course win or die; and no thoughtful man could have been surprised to hear of Jefferson Davis saying to James R. Gilmore, when on a visit in July to Richmond, "This war must go on till the last of this generation falls in his tracks, and his children seize his musket and fight our battle, *unless you acknowledge our right to self-government*. We are not fighting for slavery. We are fighting for **INDEPENDENCE**; and that or extermination we *will* have." By "independence and self-government," he means establishing a government with slavery as its corner stone; the right to rear, extend and perpetuate a slave empire over half our territory, in the hope and purpose of spreading it eventually over the continent.

EFFECTS OF THE REBELLION ON OUR SHIPPING INTERESTS.—It has been steadily throwing the carrying trade into foreign hands, chiefly English, until the *N. Y. World* publishes the names of nearly one thousand American ships which have been sold last year to foreign shipping merchants, and that have had their names changed. How long will our merchants bear in patience such a loss of their trade?

COMING FROM THE WARS.

Yes, they're coming from the wars,
The living and the dead;
The first ones shattered, seamed with scars,
The last with silent tread!
Coming, coming home again!
But not with drum and fife;
For them is hushed the warrior's strain —
They're mustered from the strife.
They're coming; but the flag they bore,
Is now their winding sheet;

The starry emblem nevermore
 Shall lead through battle-sleet.
 Coming from the battle-field;
 But not with battle-shout:
 The plume's at rest upon the shield
 For heroes mustered out.

Coming! So the loved can press
 Once more the lips and cheeks;
 Coming weary, seeking rest
 In graves where woman weeps.
 No shouting comrades at the cars —
 All silently they come;
 Thus they're coming from the wars,
 And such their welcome home.

"Oh, God! with kindred dust to sleep!"
 How oft the soldier's prayer!
 Where those who loved them aye can weep,
 And watch the sleepers there.
 Coming from the battle-field,
 But not with battle shout;
 The plume is weeping on the shield
 For heroes mustered ont.

DESTRUCTION OF THE PIRATE ALABAMA.

The feelings with which this event has been received on both sides of the Atlantic are an ill omen which the friends of peace between England and America ought to heed in season, and do their utmost to neutralize. We quote a specimen or two of the way in which Americans feel:—

"When the Monitor met and beat the monster Merrimac, the British mind seemed to go mad as it spent itself through its daily, weekly, monthly and quarterly organs. In reality, this Monitor work was but a single, extempore, intensely indignant flash of the genius of Jonathan, providentially roused up to meet a pressing exigency, and to show to the naval bullying powers of the Old World what he can do on a pinch, in the work of defending his own harbors from foreign insult. The Monitors, for other purposes, for instance, to use against fortifications, have not answered public expectation; and much of the English writing about them was erroneous. The work done by the Kearsarge is a different affair altogether as a scene of war. The combat went on with the fairness of a ring fight. On the one side was a Frenchman ready to pour into the American if the latter got within the marine distance, and who would do it with a will; and close by was a John Bull ready in an emergency and with a will to do all he could for the Alabama; and there lay the single handed Kearsarge, with the Washington flag above her. Such were the accompaniments of the fight. The London Times gives the result thus:—'At the distance of a mile, never less than a quarter of a mile, a formidable ship, the terror of American commerce, well armed, well manned, well handled, is sent to the bottom in an hour, exactly in an hour.'

Let this event be placed in its true light. The Alabama was formidable, a terror to American commerce, because British hands built her, armed her, and mostly manned her. Never was this vessel in a rebel port. The Lairds built

her, and built also her tender the *Deerhound*. She sailed from British ports with the *intent* to prey on American commerce. She received from British hands her arms that enabled her to do it; *she was an outfit of the British aristocracy*. It was this base business that enabled the Alabama to be the terror, not of the Federal navy, of our naval heroes, not one of whom ever ran but *towards* her, but of traders, of unarmed merchantmen, of the noble-hearted, unprotected sailor; and because Capt. Semmes triumphed over *such* antagonists, did British Toryism exult, crown him a hero, and award him ovations. To the last the Alabama was a pet of the British. 'The best practice,' we read in the Times, 'of the fight generally on board the Alabama was shown by the gunners who had *been trained on board the Excellent in Portsmouth harbor*.' She was substantially a British concern and, after the work of Sunday, John Bull is now groaning and grumbling that so much British sympathy and material aid should have come to grief. He would have the Alabama still live, and capture, plunder and destroy unarmed merchantmen. There it is in British journals, the damning record of the years of exultation at the fame of Semmes, and there is now the record of the wail of disappointment.

These British things have got to stand through all time in the foreground of this sea-battle. There is no need of magnifying them an iota. Let the picture be reversed. Suppose the times of old Forty-Five rebellion were to re-appear, or that a new Cromwell should divide ALL England in the havoc of civil war; suppose that the real Government could keep every port and harbor closed where a ship could live, yet that the rebels should succeed in coming over here, enlisting our merchants in their cause, and should actually destroy five millions of British shipping. What would these Lairds say as the smoke of *their* ships curled over the sea? Thanks to a good Providence, the Alabama's Nemesis was so near British enemies of the American Union, that they could almost see the flaming eyeballs and hear the sound of the thunder."—*Boston Post*, June 7, 1864.

The Boston *Bulletin* speaks "of the destruction of this British pirate," and says, "no event in naval history has caused such wide-spread mortification through the British Islands, as the destruction of *their favorite* pirate. And why was she a favorite? Because she was built in England by her most celebrated mechanics, the Lairds, was manned by picked seamen from the British Naval Reserve under the pay of the British Government, was armed with Blakely's cannon, the favorite British naval artillery, and because, through her long career of robbery and incendiarism, she had been lauded to the skies by the British all over the world. Under such circumstances, to be destroyed by a hated Yankee in fair fight, was too much for British feeling to endure with equanimity, and her loss is regarded in Britain as a national calamity."

We doubt whether any efforts by the friends of peace in this country can efface the popular impression, that England is in truth at the bottom of all these outrages upon our commerce, and ought to be held responsible for it. An Englishman, in giving an account, in part, of the cruise of the Alabama from personal knowledge, gives a list of the men on board of her, their citizenship, and other particulars. Out of 66 men whose names he gives among her crew and petty officers, forty-nine are English, eight are Scotch or Irish, making fifty-seven British subjects. Of these, eighteen belong to the Royal Naval Reserve, and two have pensions in England! With these Naval Reserve men, arrangements were made for periodically landing in British ports so as to secure the continuance of their pay in that establishment.

FOREIGNERS ON THE AMERICAN STRUGGLE.

Our rebellion is a pretty sure touch-stone of foreign views and feelings on the great questions involved in our struggle, and shows who are the friends and who the enemies of popular rights; who would have the people rule, and who would restrict this right to one man or a select few as an hereditary privilege. It is a part of that "War of Opinion," which Canning predicted more than forty years ago.

ENGLISH FEELING TOWARDS US—PRESIDENT FAIRFIELD'S TESTIMONY.

—This gentleman, President of Hillsdale College, Mich., obviously a man of intelligence, candor and careful observation, finds himself driven to this conclusion:—

"I am sorry to say it; but after a month spent in Great Britain, and eight months in travel generally, in which I have constantly been brought into contact and friendly personal relations with Englishmen, I am compelled to believe that envy of our national success and hostility to our national growth is the controlling feeling of the English people; and certainly I can count upon the fingers of one hand all that I have found in nine months who were in cordial sympathy with us in suppressing a pro-slavery rebellion which seeks to establish an empire of which slavery shall be the corner-stone. You will understand that I have made it no part of my business particularly to seek out our friends, but speak of those whom I have chanced to meet in hotels, cars and elsewhere, which I think much the fairest way of ascertaining the general feeling."

ENGLISH IGNORANCE OF AMERICA.—The general ignorance, says President Fairfield, not only of the questions at issue between the North and the South, but even of the simplest facts of American geography, is most amusing. "Is Maine one of the Northern or one of the Southern States?" asked a talkative Englishman the other day, when allusion was made to this boundary State between our country and the British possessions in North America. "Ohio, I believe, is one of the largest cities of New York, is it not?" was the sagacious inquiry of another. I cannot tell you how many times I have been asked, when saying that I came from Michigan, "Is that in North America or South America?" Certainly more than twenty.

Several Englishmen were speaking with each other a few days ago, when one of them, in expressing his large conception of what progress had been made in the States, asserted, "I suppose that railroads are now built as far as six hundred miles into the interior."

Several Americans and Englishmen met at table a few weeks ago. The American war was the subject, when one of the latter, a member of Parliament, said to the Americans: "I am surprised that you should object to a separation from the South. You were never made to be one. Only see! a mere neck of land of insignificant dimensions connecting the two!" And he drew his fingers into shape to indicate the isthmus which connects North and South America. What is still richer, I have related this story to several parties of Englishmen, and not one of them has as yet detected the joke.

Yet these are the men that presume to lecture us, just as if they understood our duties and our interests in the present crisis better than we do ourselves!

FRENCH FEELING TOWARDS THE UNITED STATES.—The Aristocrats in France, like the same class in England, are set against us, as Louis Napoleon clearly is; but the mass of her people are strongly in our favor, and opposed

to the rebel cause. The country press in particular are very decided in their tone of opposition. One of the most influential declares, 'that a great mistake is made, if it is supposed that France can ever form any alliance with a pack of slave-holding conspirators. The country of Lafayette must ever remain the faithful friend of the country of Washington.' In truth, the people, wherever enlightened on the questions in issue, instinctively side with the North as fighting the great battle of the popular rights, and aristocracy as instinctively identify themselves with our slave-mongering rebels.

A SCOTCH VIEW OF THE PIRATICAL ALABAMA.—The circumstances connected with the sinking of the Alabama are well known, as also the fulsome flatteries and overdone compliments paid to Capt. Semmes and what was described as "his gallant and heroic crew." The Captain has had applied to him by certain organs of opinion, and even by officials in Her Majesty's service and pay, terms of the most extravagant praise, "chivalrous," "noble," "heroic," "gallant," being among the number; and his crew have shared in the honors thus heaped upon him. This to a pirate who has burned and sunk hundreds of British and other merchant vessels, and destroyed property to the value of between £8,000,000 and £4,000,000, but *has never once attacked or come in the way of a vessel of his own caliber, except under false colors, and with a lie in the mouth of his officials*, is rather more than honest and brave men are disposed to bear. It amounts to an ornamenting and decorating of vice at the expense of virtue; gives glory to men who, had they attempted to do on land what they have done on sea, would have been hunted to death as highwaymen and murderers of the most insufferable kind, and not entitled to live.

That we are not using language one whit too strong, let those who are disposed to make themselves acquainted with all the facts, read "The Cruise of the Alabama from her departure from Liverpool until her arrival at the Cape of Good Hope," a pamphlet just published "by an officer on board, who is a keen Confederate, glories in his work, and has the highest admiration of Capt. Semmes. This pamphlet we have read with the utmost loathing — loathing that a vile, lying, drunken, debauched and frequently mutinous crew, such as that of the Alabama, is here described, should excite the sympathy and command the regards of a portion of the British people; loathing that a scheming, skulking, deceiving and unscrupulous fellow such as Capt. Semmes is here shown to be, should be characterized as either spirited or brave, not to talk of "chivalrous" or "noble;" and loathing, too, that at a time like the present, when, were the conduct pursued by the supporters of the Alabama adopted by other nations, our whole mercantile marine might be swept off the face of the seas, there should be found in Britain men ready to vindicate her conduct, and the stratagems by which she succeeded in almost every instance in capturing her prize.

If we are to believe this pamphlet, every one of the hundreds of unprotected merchant vessels captured, burned and sunk by Capt. Semmes during his two years' cruise, was captured by deceit, by hoisting false flags, chiefly those of Great Britain, and by telling the most atrocious lies; and in not a single instance did the "heroic" captain attack a vessel, large or small, with or without guns, till his hands had first entrapped and deceived it by false representations as to his own character and aim.—*Caledonian Mercury, Edinburgh, June 29.*

COMPARATIVE EXPENSES OF WAR.—Let us compare these with some other things. In Great Britain the capital invested in railways up to 1853, amounted to more than \$1,300,000,000. Every dollar of this almost unfathomable sum was actually raised and paid in. Whoever has seen a modern map of the United Kingdom, will have noticed that it is almost literally put in iron, or covered with such a net-work of railroads that the meshes of unintersected land look very small; and those who have travelled in that country, must have been struck with the standing army of officials and men in fustian sustained by every line. Well, what are the gross earnings of all these railways in a good year? In 1854 the whole receipts for passengers and freight amounted to \$100,000,000. Here is the greatest vested interest on the face of the globe, except landed estate. The annual income it produces far exceeds the revenue of any other investment in any single nation. The expenditures of Great Britain in 1854, in mere preparations for war, were more than \$122,000,000; and the gross receipts of all the railways of the kingdom that year were \$100,000,000 or nearly 22,000,000 *less* than the amount appropriated to military and naval accounts!

Let us measure this annual offering to the altar of Mars by the standard of human labor and its earnings. The number of agricultural laborers, male and female, young and old, employed in great Britain, in 1851, according to the census of that year, were 1,077,627. Of this number 198,226 were under the age of twenty years, and probably one third of these were under twelve. The average wages of able-bodied men is about ten English shillings per week. Taking with them the women and children in a general estimate, the average weekly wages of the whole number employed in farm-work would probably be eight shillings, or \$1.92; making about \$100 a year per head. Thus all the men, women and children, who make Great Britain one great garden in beauty and wealth of production, earn \$107,762,700 in the course of twelve months, provided they all work every day in the year except the Sabbath. This is a large amount. But let us put this and that together. In round numbers, for producing food for man and beast, \$108,000,000; for preparations to slaughter man and beast, \$118,000,000!

A WOUNDED SOLDIER AND HIS MOTHER.—In one of the fierce engagements with the rebels near Mechanicsville in May last, a young lieutenant of a Rhode Island battery had his right foot so shattered by a fragment of shell that, on reaching Washington after one of those awful ambulance rides, and a journey of a week's duration, he was obliged to undergo amputation of the leg. He telegraphed home, hundreds of miles away, that all was going on well, and with a soldier's fortitude composed himself to bear his sufferings alone. Unknown to him, however, his mother, one of those dear reserves of the army, hastened up to join the main force. She reached the city at midnight, and the nurses would have kept her from him until morning. One sat by his side fanning him as he slept, her hand on the feeble, fluctuating pulsations which foreboded sad results. But what woman's heart could resist the pleadings of a mother then? In the darkness, she was finally allowed to glide in and take the place at his side. She touched his pulse as the nurse had done. Not a word had been spoken; but the sleeping boy opened his eyes and said: 'That feels like my mother's hand! Who is this beside me? It is my mother; turn up the gas and let me see mother!' The two dear faces met in one long, joyful sobbing embrace, and the fondness pent up in each heart sobbed and panted and wept forth its expression. The gallant fellow, just twenty-one, his leg amputated on the last day of his three years' service, underwent operation after operation; and at last, when death drew nigh, and he was told by tearful friends, that it only remained to make him comfortable, said 'he had looked death in the face too many times to be afraid now,' and died as gallantly as did the men of the Cumberland.

WAR AND MISSIONS.

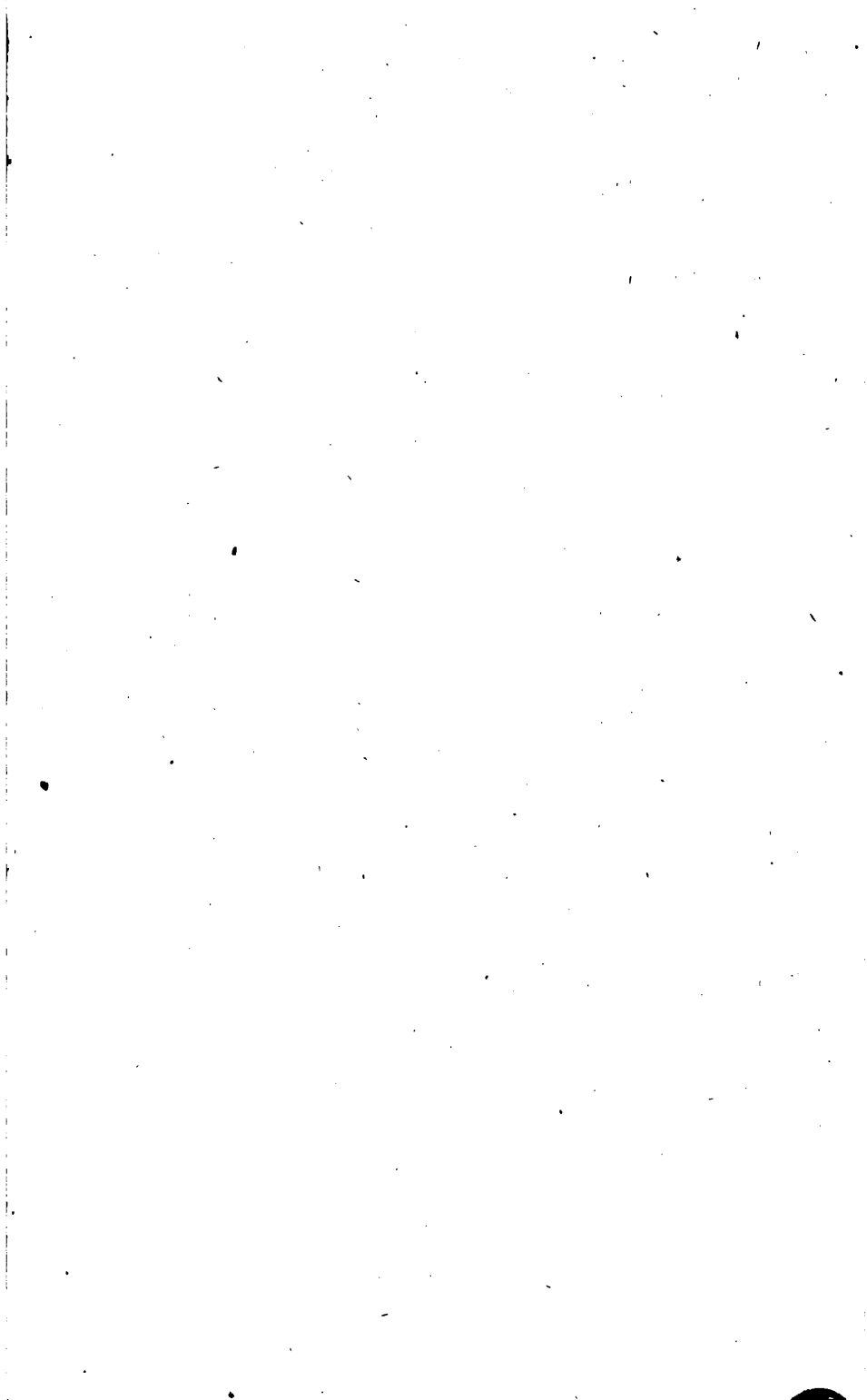
The friends of the missionary cause are in a fair way to learn somewhat the bearing of war upon the great work of evangelizing the world. Besides diminishing their resources, and increasing the expenses of living, it so deranges the currency and exchanges, that it now costs nearly two dollars and a half to reach our missionaries across the Atlantic with a single one. There is no way to avoid this; it is a "military necessity," and must of course be met. In anticipation of this, the American Board, the oldest and largest missionary organization in the country, did at their last anniversary all they could by votes and speeches to secure such an increase of income as would suffice for the emergency; but, after all, they now find it necessary to make a special and urgent call upon their friends for \$100,000 more.

We cannot doubt the success of this appeal, and rejoice to hear of the prompt and generous responses coming from all quarters. The friends of such an enterprise must and will of course sustain it through any and every crisis; but, while doing so, we would just ask them to bear in mind that this call for more funds is only a small part of what the war-system exacts from them for its own support. We are unable at the present moment to say precisely how much the Christians of every name in our country are giving annually to the cause of missions; but, supposing the amount to be a single million of dollars, and two thirds of this to be sent abroad to their missionaries, not less than \$300,000 would thus be used up in mere exchanges occasioned solely by war. What a sop to this Cerberus! Three hundred thousand dollars in one year levied upon the missionary cause alone! Let its friends think of this while putting their hands into their pockets to pay this exorbitant tribute, this enormous, inexorable "black mail" to the war-demon.

But is this all? We wish it were; but in truth it is only a "drop of the bucket." Besides taxes in one form or another to the amount of several hundred millions that we have paid to sustain the present government thus far in its conflict with our rebels, the mere interest upon the national debt already incurred will soon be nearly a hundred millions a year; and of this sum the followers of Christ, the friends of missions, will probably have to pay not less than thirty millions; more than two hundred times as much as the average of their annual contributions for the last half century to the work of evangelizing the nations!

It seems to us quite time for Christians to ponder well these and many kindred facts, that show the bearing of war on missions, the great and glorious enterprise of the world's evangelization. We have long looked upon peace as an indispensable pioneer and auxiliary to this cause; and we feel sure that sooner or later the friends of the latter will adopt the former as an integral part of their work of converting nations to the Prince of Peace and to his religion of peace.

This topic deserves much more than a passing glance. We shall call attention more fully to it ere-long; and meanwhile we would refer those who wish to examine it with more care, to two of our stereotyped tracts, one entitled "*War and Missions*," and the other "*Claims of Peace on all Christians*."



TO EDITORS—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.

TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL—the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706.....	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196.....	75
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound.....	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252.....	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212.....	25
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108.....	20
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier, 16 mo., pp. 303. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.....	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay, 12mo., pp. 333.....	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310.....	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond, 8vo., pp. 168.....	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.....	20
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2 50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.....	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12.....	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.....	5
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts.	

FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. — **Be very careful** to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested by the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your purpose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE.— *The law allows* only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may be addressed all communications designed for the Society.

Oct. 7

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

CONTENTS.

Misconceptions of Peace.....	133	State Debts increased by the Rebel-	
Peace and Rebellion.....	135	lion	152
The Peace Reform.....	141	Specimens of Rebel Guerrilla War-	
Legal Rights distinct from those of		fare	152
War.....	143	Quantrell's Sack of Lawrence,	
Commercial Opportunites of Useful-		Kansas.....	153
fulness to the Heathen.....	144	Moral Results of such Guer-	
Barbarities in the Chinese Rebellion.....	146	rilla Warfare.....	155
War and our Colleges.....	146	Price of a Victory.....	156
Common Schools Nurseries of Loy-		Safety of a Peace Policy.....	156
alty.....	147	The Evils of the Times.....	157
Number of our Fighting Men	147	Religious Results of the Rebellion.....	159
Resistance of the Rebels.....	148	Continental Money—its Value.....	159
Social Evils of the Rebellion.....	151	High Compensation to our Troops.....	159
Sacrifice of Officers.....	151	Gen. Grant's Views.....	160
Our Hospitals.....	152	Rebel Treatment of Prisoners.....	161

 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.
CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.
1864.



THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

MISCONCEPTIONS OF PEACE.

NO TRUE FRIEND OF PEACE IN SYMPATHY WITH REBELLION.

OUR cause has always suffered much from misconceptions ; but it appears just now to be in danger of being quite inundated by them. In the general turmoil of the times, we meet them at every turn among all classes, the ignorant and the cultivated, the bad and the good. It would seem as if the simple idea of peace were submerged beneath a deluge of misconceptions respecting its plain, true import. We can find no valid excuse for them, because we have all along been sufficiently explicit and discriminating in our statements to satisfy any fair, intelligent mind that will take pains to examine the subject.

It is owing chiefly to this heedlessness that the friends of our cause have come of late to be confounded in some minds with a set of demagogues and their partisans, misnamed "peace men." Peace men ! yet in sympathy and collusion, if not in active alliance, with a rebellion second in magnitude and atrocity only to that of Satan against the throne of God ! There never was a more glaring misnomer, as every one must know who is acquainted with the antecedents of those men who are now raising the cry of

peace just to screen slaveholding rebels, their former political allies, from the punishment due to their crimes. They were the fomenters and abettors of every war in which our government has ever been engaged. They glory in this claim as the crowning proof of their patriotism. It was such men that brought on our war with England in 1812, with Mexico in 1846, and with our Indians at various times, nearly always in the interest of slavery. It was only such men that instigated the filibustering schemes which for a time made us the scorn and terror of the continent. Peace men, forsooth! They have always been the war-dogs of the nation; and it is an outrage on common sense for public opinion to let such men steal "this livery of heaven to do the deeds of hell in."

As to the meaning and motive of this cry about peace, we suppose there is not the slightest doubt in any intelligent mind among us. Nobody imagines it contains a particle of Christian or moral principle. It is simply a device of cunning, unscrupulous politicians to get the votes of honest people to help them into office, a mere partisan watchword, or rallying cry of the outs in their struggle to regain power, the northern wing of the rebellion acting through the ballot-box, a sort of flank movement in aid of the rebel-leaders at the South, all designed to put our government once more in the hands of such men as have always used it for the support and extension of slavery as its chief mission.

Now, it seems to us that no one, not utterly ignorant of our views as peace men on principle, can confound us with such sympathizers and virtual co-workers with rebellion. Our position is well known. We deplore more deeply than words can express, this appeal to the sword forced upon us by the rebels, and did all we could to prevent it; but, believing in civil government as an ordinance of God, we recognize of course its right to maintain its authority by putting its laws in execution as absolutely indispensable to the peace and order of society. It is not *our* business as a Peace Society to do this; but we deem it the right and the vocation of rulers to have it done, and a part of our duty as good citizens to uphold them in doing it. They may do this in a way or a spirit that we cannot approve; but they still have, and *must* have, the right to do it at their own discretion. Nothing short of this can deserve the name of government. Such an execution of law is the only sure or possible way to secure real peace; and the men associated for the abolition of the war-system, so far

from opposing or censuring the legitimate operations of government in the enforcement of law, have always looked to it for the only agency that can ever carry into full effect their plans for the world's permanent pacification.

PEACE AND REBELLION:

WHAT SHALL THE PEACE SOCIETY DO NOW?

THIS has been to the friends of peace an ever-present question since the rise of our rebellion. After the lapse of nearly four years, we may well inquire anew, what ought the Peace Society to do in the present stage of this terrible conflict?

This question we cannot intelligently answer without recalling what we have already done. Our society has never been asleep over the subject; but from its watch-tower of early and anxious observation, it foresaw the coming storm, sounded the alarm in season, and took, in anticipation, the precise ground that we still hold. Whether right or wrong, we have been uniform and consistent in our course. Our treatment of the rebellion has been no after-thought to escape from an unexpected dilemma, but a simple, straightforward application of well-considered views to the case.

How, then, did we treat this rebellion from the start? As a question lying outside of our proper province, to be dealt with not so much by the Peace Society as by the government in essentially the same way that it would any other violation of its laws. Our business is, not to enact or execute law, to define or punish crime, but solely to do away the custom of war among nations, their practice of settling disputes among themselves by the sword. Just this, and nothing else. We reprinted our principles and policy, stereotyped twenty years before, on these points to let everybody see that we had always refrained from "inquiring how any offence against society shall be punished; how force shall be used for the suppression of mobs and other popular outbreaks; by what specific means government shall enforce its laws, and support its rightful authority; or in what way any controversy between a government and its own subjects shall be adjusted. With such questions the Cause of Peace is not concerned, but labors merely to abolish the practice of nations settling their disputes by the

sword." Such was the programme on which our cause started; and hence we have no more right as a Peace Society to interfere with government in suppressing this rebellion than with putting down a mob in Boston or New York, in arresting a gang of incendiaries, or bringing any other class of wrong-doers to condign punishment for their crimes. A rebellion is not an international but a domestic question. War, in strict propriety of speech, can exist only between two distinct nationalities; and all foreign governments, as well as our own, recognize in our country but one nationality. Our rebels have, indeed, been trying hard to create another; but so long as none but themselves concede its existence, it would ill-become a Peace Society to take it for granted until the question shall be settled beyond serious dispute.

These views we proclaimed alike before and after the rise of this rebellion. When we saw it coming, we said that the thing needed just then was not so much homilies on peace as a proper enforcement of law, as the true and only sure conservator of peace. We think so still; and had there been at that time in the executive chair, not a weak, supple tool of bold, bad men, but a real ruler, like Napoleon, Cromwell or Jackson, he would instantly have put his foot upon the young hydra, and crushed it at once and forever. It was the government's business to do that; and if done in season and aright, such an act of timely, merciful severity might, as in the case of nullification thirty years before, have averted nearly all the evils that have since come upon us. The prompt arrest and imprisonment of ten or twenty ringleaders at the right time might, with corresponding action of the government all over the land, have nipped the rebellion in the bud, or so shorn it of its strength as to render it comparatively powerless.

These positions we regard as entirely consistent with the principles of peace. So did William Ladd, the founder of our society, who used to say he opposed, 'not the sword of the magistrate, but only the sword of war.' This distinction, obvious to every thoughtful mind, we have always kept up, and thus find no difficulty in reconciling the principles of peace with the legitimate operations of government. These positions are not, indeed, embodied in our constitution; but it takes them for granted as the dictates of common sense, and the faith of all believers in either civil government or human society. We profess, as Quakers themselves and all intelligent friends of peace do, to be be-

lievers in government as an ordinance of God ; and if consistent, we must of course concede its right to enact laws, and its obligation to put them in force for the protection and welfare of society. Here is its sphere and mission. If it may not, or cannot do this, it is really no government at all ; and if we deny to it the exercise of these powers, we become practically, not its supporters but its enemies.

While thus recognizing the right of government to enforce its laws against rebels as against any other class of offenders, we still did all we could to dissuade the parties in this conflict from appealing in any event to the sword. We need not repeat now our arguments in the case ; but having jointly adopted a constitution, enacted laws, and established courts for the express purpose of peacefully settling all such questions, we insisted that they were bound by every consideration of duty, honor and interest, to employ *only* these legal, peaceful means, and quietly abide the result. All loyal men were ready and anxious to do so ; but the rebels spurned the offer, and thus left our government no alternative but to enforce its laws, or abdicate its authority, and abandon the country to anarchy and ruin.

This at once rendered neutrality quite impossible. No alternative was left but to support or resist the government ; and all our habits and convictions compelled us to recognize its right and its duty to maintain its authority by enforcing its laws against offenders, whether low or high, few or many, by all the power of the country. It must do this, or cease in fact to be a government. The time for conciliation had passed ; and nothing that the friends of peace could now do, was likely to be of any avail. The rebels were resolved to have their own way, or perish in the struggle ; and we could only await the result.

We *have* waited more than three years ; and what else, or different from what we *have* done, would you have us do now ? Do you wish us to reverse these positions ? We cannot ; for they were all deliberately taken, and we find no reason to change them. Do you say they contradict or ignore the true principles of peace, the ground heretofore taken by our own society ? We deny the charge, and deem it a slander. We now stand just where we have always stood on the questions alike of peace and of government, the steadfast, consistent friends of each in its legitimate sphere.

‘ But the Society is certainly *accused* of inconsistency.’ — Why ?

Because it puts in practice its professions of loyalty to government as an ordinance of God for the punishment of evil-doers. By whom? Chiefly by extreme radicals on both sides, by believers, on one hand, in the strict inviolability of human life, which amounts in principle and effect to a denial of all government; and, on the other, by those who scout the whole idea of peace as not only subversive of government, but fatal to the safety and welfare of society itself. These zealots of war say with much satisfaction and glee, 'the peace radicals are right; the principles of peace are opposed to all government, and would, if carried out, destroy its existence, or neutralize its power; and hence we must either retain the war-system, or let society drift down to anarchy and ruin.' This objection, so fatal, if true, to our cause, is fully met only by the ground we take, which makes peace not merely compatible with government, but a guarantee of its stability and efficiency.

You profess to be a friend of government, but long to see this suicidal conflict brought to an end. You surely cannot desire this more than we do; but how shall it be done? Do you say, 'Stop fighting, and it will end of course'? True; but neither party will stop, except on such terms as they shall dictate. Which, then, has the *right* to prescribe the terms? The violators or the upholders of law, the magistrate or the malefactor, the judge or the criminal? The only proper way to peace is plain and easy, — *submission to the government*. No other would be either right or safe. Just persuade our rebels to submit, and not another gun would be fired; but *will* they submit? They scorn the thought, and tell us they would sooner die. When you ask the government, then, to cease from this contest, what do you say in effect? 'You have no right or power to execute your own laws, and are, in fact, no government at all. The rebels are right; and you may as well yield to their demands first as last.' Would you have us say this to our government, and use our influence in securing its submission to rebels in arms? In making such a request, consider well what you ask. If a gang of villains were attempting to plunder and burn Boston, and its authorities were proceeding in a strictly legal way to stop them, and bring them to justice, would you have the friends of peace interpose to screen the culprits from condign punishment? Yet this is just what you ask the Peace Society to do in behalf of

rebels who have perpetrated, year after year, crimes incomparably more atrocious. Do you, then, deem it the vocation of Peace Societies to screen such gigantic villanies from justice? Our government, in suppressing the rebellion, is merely enforcing law against its high-handed, wholesale violators; and shall peace-men say it must not do this, and reproach our rulers for making the attempt? Were they not put in office for this very purpose? If they shrink from discharging its duties, would they not be justly regarded as recreant to their high trust? Can there ever be reliable peace anywhere, except by the enforcement of law and the support of rightful authority? Would not peace upon any other terms provoke still more the displeasure of heaven, and breed interminable wars?

‘But why burn your fingers with this firebrand? Why not let it alone?’—So we fain would have done; but we were not allowed to let it alone. Extremists on both sides made us a common target for their cross-fires, and compelled us to define exactly our position. We did so; and the result is, just what we expected and desired, that they both complain of us, and thus incline calm, candid thinkers to the conclusion that we must be pretty nearly right.

‘But you surely ought to be impartial, and censure both parties alike for resorting to the sword.’—By no means. In a case like this, no man has a right to be, or can be, neutral. Would you, then, have us neutral on the question of obedience or resistance to the government over us, just as favorable to one side as the other? Has government no more right to enforce its own laws than a criminal has to break them? A thief or a murderer just as much right to commit crime as a magistrate has to punish it? Our rulers as censurable for enforcing our laws as rebels are for trampling them all under foot, and trying to overthrow the government itself? Strange logic! You might as well bid us be neutral between God and the devil. The principle is precisely the same; and we see not how any man in his senses can ask us for one moment to be neutral in such a case. We cannot be. Neutrality is impossible. We *must* be on one side or the other; and if not *actively* in support of government, we do in fact throw our influence on the side of rebellion. There can be no middle ground. Wrong-doers often ask nothing more than to be let alone in their villanies; and *not* to resist and punish rebels, is just the way to insure their triumph.

‘But would you have our government enforce its laws by war continued so long upon a scale so gigantic?’—If you are not, like ourselves, in favor of civil government, it can be of little, if any, use for us to argue this case with you; but if you are, just tell us, if you can, how we are to have any government at all without the right and power to execute its laws against its disobedient subjects. Since the rise of this rebellion, has our government attempted anything *more* than a simple enforcement of its laws in the best way it could? You may, if you choose, call such enforcement war; but we say now, as we have from the first, that we deem it, like the condign punishment of any offenders, *the process of justice allowed by the gospel itself*, a legitimate, Christian means of insuring the peace, order and welfare of society.

‘But how deplorable the process!’—Very true; but if wrong-doers persist in their wickedness, how are such evils to be avoided? Who are responsible for them,—the government or the violators of its laws? Would you denounce the legitimate restraint and punishment of such criminals as properly an act of war, as a part of that war-system which the friends of peace are laboring to do away? Then do you quite misconceive our mission as peace reformers.

‘But would you have these terrible evils continued?’—God forbid; but we see no proper or safe way of ending them but by submission to law and rightful authority.

‘Alas! if these evils, this fearful waste of life and treasure, these crimes and woes, must continue!’—Most deeply do we deplore all these; but now it is not in our power to prevent or control them. Our principles have been discarded by both parties; and now the controversy must be decided by believers in war-principles, and we can do little else than patiently await the result.

‘But can you sanction a continuance of such a conflict?’—We! What power or responsibility have we in the case? It all rests on the men who planned and are trying to execute this gigantic villany, this great crime of crimes. *They* are utterly wrong, without a shadow of even plausible excuse; but the government, established for this very purpose, has a clear right, and is solemnly bound, as the appointed guardian of the general weal, to put its laws in force, cost what it may. Would you complain of God for executing his laws upon rebels against his throne?

Who is to blame in this case for the sufferings occasioned by such enforcement, — God, or the devil and wicked men? Would you have him compromise with them, and patch up a peace that would put in perpetual peril the peace and happiness of his boundless empire?

Just so in this case. It is not ours as peace-men to say precisely what shall be done by our government in this case; but devoutly as we pray for peace, we could counsel no settlement that shall entail upon us ages of incessant war, and leave a slave-mongering rebellion, got up in the hope of ultimately spreading slavery from the Atlantic to the Pacific, triumphant over justice, freedom and humanity. Had *our* views ruled, this appeal to the sword could never have come; but since it *has* come, and the issue is to be decided by men who believe in such blind, brutal arbitrament, we cannot refrain from the hope that it will terminate only in such a peace as God shall make permanently fruitful of good to our country and the world.

THE PEACE REFORM, THOUGH SLOW, SURE OF FINAL TRIUMPH.

OUR Lord condemned the scribes and Pharisees for insisting on punctilios, and disregarding weighty matters; and we are apt to regard this as their peculiarity. But have not all mankind, in every age, been prone to this same thing? What age has not been distinguished by some great popular crime, while yet, in minor matters, virtue was insisted on? Persecution for conscience' sake, hell-born and horrible, has been the work of men deeming themselves virtuous, and very strict as to baptisms and masses, priests and printed prayers. For the mere mint and cummin of religion, the best of our race have been consigned to dungeons, racks and fire by agents who proudly thanked God that they were not as other men.

This disposition to insist on comparative trifles, and ignore huge evils, is seen in the very books written to correct the morals of mankind. Look over, for instance, the "*Spectator*," or the "*Rambler*," and what do we find? Powerful attacks on hoops, high heels and headdresses; on bear-gardens, beggars, quack doctors, flirts, fops and buffoons; on affectation, flattery, loqua-

city and ill manners. But where are articles against excessive kingly prerogative, human slavery, Sabbath-breaking, or war? To such evils, there is not even an allusion in books assuming the censorship of the times!

Grand national crimes gather power as they gather prevalence; and the whispers of disapprobation here and there are drowned in the plaudits of the populace. What voice was heard against the Crusades? Who that could demand a hearing denounced the crucifixion of Christ? What statesman in England has lifted up his protest against forcing Hindus to raise opium at starvation prices, or against making war on China, and robbing her of her territory, to compel her to buy it at an enormous advance, and to the demoralization of a great people?

We remember only one instance of a bold assault by pen against a popular, profitable and national crime, and then the victory was neither speedy nor easy; but the crime lost prestige, and sunk into shame and restraint. It was Wilberforce and Clarkson against the world. They drew out, headed, guided and cheered the friends of humanity till the slave-trade became a universal execration.

The great dagon of *our* time is WAR. To this grim god every nation on earth is this day making costliest sacrifices. Oh for anti-war Wilberforces and Clarksons now! Our society will remain a solid entity till the millennium; but now our voice is drowned in the rattle of drums, and the roar of artillery. War is the one theme which fills our newspapers, occupies our councils, enlists our sympathies, and absorbs our finances. Women make appliances for hospitals, and children save their pence for the wounded. The Christian Commission and the Sanitary Commission receive contributions to an almost fabulous amount, while every branch of industry is stimulated to produce munitions of war. The corners of streets are placarded with calls for troops, while in shops and counting-houses are hung up cards saying, 'No argument with traitors, but from the cannon's mouth.'

To inculcate peace, in such a state of public feeling, is like attempting to arrest a frantic crowd. We are too few and too obscure to bring masses of men to reason so long as passion rules the hour. But we will not despair. "Peace on earth," is Jehovah's fiat. Nor must we hold back our testimony for better times, as our temperance leaders seem to do. We are not required to

analyze the causes, or determine the character of any war, nor to establish the exact criteria of strictly defensive war. Nor are we forbidden by our principles to sanction the enforcement of law against its violators, the forcible suppression of treason, and the defence of our country and capital from armed insurrection. We admit that the nation bore and forebore till our president passed from patience even to poltroonry, and ended his official career by refusing to crush the egg which hatched for his successor a legion of disasters.

But it is ours to plead for the use of the pen instead of the sword, and conferences rather than cannon. We have now no man in high political station to ring out, like Wilberforce, the counsels of humanity in the national assembly, with the power of eloquence and the prestige of office. But we will bear our testimony, though it may pass as a whisper. Truth is mighty; and though on this subject it is "fallen in the streets," it is a giant still. Time will vindicate our adherence to the doctrine of "peace on earth, good-will to men," and to the propriety, *at all times*, of urging antagonists to *argue* their cause.

We choose to be prudent, but dare not be pusillanimous. We may yet be a nucleus round which will gather accumulated materials, and from which shall go forth a force sufficient to correct a hideous fanaticism, and turn into its right channel, the current of social influence. Our "Advocate of Peace" shall at least keep aloft our banner of love; and if we who sustain it die without a sight of its triumph, we shall depart in peace, assured that our work will be approved when God alone shall be the judge.

LEGAL RIGHTS AS DISTINCT FROM THOSE OF WAR.

IN his very able speech on "*Rights of Sovereignty and Rights of War, two Sources of Power against the Rebellion*," Senator Sumner makes a distinction on which we have always insisted as very important:—

"Clearly the United States may exercise all the rights of war, which, according to international law, belong to independent States. Every nation has, in this respect, a perfect equality; nor can any rights of war accorded to other nations be denied to the United States. Harsh and repulsive as these rights unquestionably are, they are derived from the overruling, instinctive law of self-defence, which is common to

nations as to individuals. Every community having the form and character of sovereignty, has a right to national life, and in defence of such life, it may put forth all its energies. Any other principle would leave it the wretched prey of wicked men, abroad or at home. In vain you accord to it the rights of sovereignty if you despoil it of other rights without which sovereignty is only a name. 'I think, therefore I am,' was the sententious utterance by which the first of modern philosophers demonstrated personal existence. 'I am, therefore I have rights,' may be the declaration of every sovereignty, when its existence is assailed.

Pardon me if I interpose again to remind you of the essential difference between these rights and those we have just considered. Though incident to sovereignty, they are not to be confounded with those peaceful rights which are all exhausted in a penal statute within the limitations of the Constitution. The difference between a judge and a general, between the halberd of the executioner and the sword of the soldier, between the open palm and the clinched fist, is not greater than that between these two classes of rights. They are different in origin, different in extent, and different in object.

I rejoice to believe that civilization has already done much to mitigate the rights of war and it is among long-cherished visions, which even present events cannot make me renounce, that the time will yet come when all these rights will be further softened to the mood of permanent peace. But though in the lapse of generations changed in many things, especially as regards non-combatants and private property on land, these rights still exist under the sanction of the laws of nations, to be claimed whenever war prevails. It would be absurd to accord the right to do a thing without at the same time according the means necessary to the end. And since war, which is nothing less than organized force, is permitted, all the means to its effective prosecution must be permitted also, tempered always by that humanity which strengthens while it charms."

COMMERCIAL OPPORTUNITIES OF USEFULNESS TO THE HEATHEN.

THESE are manifold and incessant, and might, if used aright, become very effective pioneers and auxiliaries in the great work of bringing our entire race to embrace Christianity. The heathen must see at every point the superior culture, enterprise and thrift of nominal Christians; and if the latter would, in their business intercourse with the former, breathe the genuine spirit of their religion, and act always in full accordance with its principles, how largely would they contribute to the world's sure, if not speedy, evangelization.

We have been led anew to this view by finding in the "New

York Post" (July), a statement that "there are *now* twelve first-class American steamers plying on the Yang-tsi-Kiang River, unrivalled in speed, of great capacity for storage, and running with a comparative small consumption of coal, so that the English steamers have been unable to compete with them, and in fact they are preferred by the British as well as the Chinese shippers. More are building in New York for the same trade, and it is expected that by February, 1865, there will be running to Hankow twenty-five American steamers. In 1863, there were 404 clearances of American vessels against 208 British," the increase more than 80 per cent. in the last six months of 1863. "Hankow has a population of over 1,000,000. It is eight hundred miles from the mouth of the Yang-tsi-Kiang, which drains a country of 750,000 square miles, and is navigable for four hundred miles above Hankow."

Here is a pretty fair specimen of the energy, enterprise, and success of Anglo-Saxon Christians as business men; and if they would just make all these bear, as they might and should, upon the work of diffusing the gospel in all its benign influences among the heathen, what glorious results might we expect ere long! Instead of the obstructions, now so serious and wide-spread, to the introduction of Christianity, we might expect to see the people everywhere ready to welcome it, and give it a ready and favorable hearing.

Now, is it not possible to secure a result so exceedingly desirable? Every one must see at once how vastly it would facilitate the great work of the world's evangelization; nor is it in our view less certain that, until the commercial intercourse of Christendom with pagans shall be conducted on better principles than have been applied by the English and French in India, China and Japan down to this hour, we shall look in vain for the universal prevalence of Christianity. If it makes or tolerates such knaves and rascals, such robbers and murderers, such wholesale pirates and brigands, as these foremost powers of Christendom have *proved* themselves to be in their treatment of these three vast countries, common sense and the very instincts of self-preservation must everywhere resist its progress, and render its final triumph over all the earth impossible, except by greater miracles than have yet been wrought in its behalf.

BARBARITIES IN THE CHINESE REBELLION. — It seems that the chronic rebellion in China is characterized by atrocities worse even than those of our own rebels. The Shanghai "Shipping List" speaks of "the slaughter of the rebels after the capture of Hwosoo as terrible. Upward of 9,000 were taken prisoners; and of these, it is estimated that 6,000 were killed or drowned, principally by the Imperialists. They were all old rebels, and richly deserved their fate for the diabolical cruelty they had practised during their present raid. In one village only, eighty inhabitants were butchered because they had pulled away wooden bridges which the rebels happened to require. During the pursuit the bodies of villagers, whose throats were cut because they were unable to keep up with their captors, were found at frequent intervals. The villagers followed up the Imperialist troops, and ferreted out rebels who had escaped notice by hiding, stripped them and bamboozed them, after which they were allowed to go free.

"Outside the north and east gates of Chang-chow, about half a mile from the city, are ranges of huts, amidst which, seeking what they can pick up from the Imperialists, are hundreds of gaunt, wretched people, dying of hunger and disease, horrible and loathsome to look upon. The living are too weak and indifferent to bury the dead, the bodies remain where they fall, and decompose in the roads, unless eaten by the dogs. We cannot describe the horrors that meet the eye at every step. It is horrible to relate, horrible to witness. To read that people are eating human flesh, is one thing; to see the bodies from which that flesh has been cut, is another. No man can eat a meal here without a certain degree of loathing. The poor wretches have a wolfish look about them that is indescribable; and they haunt one's boat in shoals, in the hope of getting some scraps of food. Their lamentations and moans completely take away any appetite which the horrors one has witnessed might have left. I ought to be tolerably callous by this time; but no one could witness, unmoved, such scenes as these."

WAR AND OUR COLLEGES. — Here are some further specimens of the zeal felt by our students in putting down the rebellion. "The enlistments in the Northwest to meet the call for 100,000 of 100 days' men are going on gloriously. Shurtliff College, at Alton, Ill., has enlisted *all its students but two*, who were copperheads; and the school is suspended for the present. The Chicago University has enlisted a large number of its students, and so has Evanston College. Prof. Blaisdell, of Beloit College, is expected to lead the company forming in that institution. Prof. Montague, of Allen's Grove Academy, Wisc., will go in command of his students. Prof. Twining, of Milton Academy, Wisc., will raise two companies. Lawrence University will furnish one company. Janesville High School one, under its Superintendent, Mr. Lockwood. All these in Wisconsin will constitute the Students' Regiment, under Rev. Samuel Fellows, late Chaplain of the Thirty-second Wisconsin." — *Wis. Puritan*, May, 1864.

In some of our Western Colleges, the annual commencement was omitted because so large a part of the students had gone into the army; and in our oldest theological seminary, though there could not be the slightest occasion for it in self-defence, a military company was formed for regular drill. How long will it take to expunge the war-spirit thus cultivated?

COMMON SCHOOLS NURSERIES OF LOYALTY. — Mr. Robinson, superintendent of public instruction in Kentucky, has produced statistics which “show that the counties in Kentucky in which common schools have been most largely established and most liberally sustained, are those which have been most distinguished for a cordial, immovable and self-sacrificing attachment to the Union.” Had that Northern institution, the common-school system, been as universally established at the South as at the North, this rebellion never would have occurred. Certainly not, if *all* classes had been admitted to its benefits.

NUMBER OF OUR FIGHTING MEN. — The census of 1860 gives the following results: —

State.	White males, 18 to 45.	State.	White males, 18 to 45.
Alabama.....	99,967	New Jersey.....	132,219
Arkansas.....	65,231	New York.....	796,881
California.....	169,975	North Carolina.....	115,369
Connecticut.....	94,411	Ohio.....	459,534
Delaware.....	18,273	Oregon.....	15,781
Florida.....	15,739	Pennsylvania.....	565,172
Georgia.....	111,005	Rhode Island.....	35,502
Illinois.....	375,026	South Carolina.....	55,046
Indiana.....	265,225	Tennessee.....	159,353
Iowa.....	139,316	Texas.....	92,145
Kansas.....	27,976	Vermont.....	60,580
Kentucky.....	180,589	Virginia.....	196,587
Louisiana.....	83,456	Wisconsin.....	159,335
Maine.....	125,238		
Maryland.....	102,715	Total States.....	5,535,054
Massachusetts.....	258,419	District of Columbia.....	12,797
Michigan.....	164,007	Territories.....	76,214
Minnesota.....	41,226		
Mississippi.....	70,295	Total States and	
Missouri.....	232,771	Territories:....	5,624,065
New Hampshire.....	63,610		

This enormous aggregate shows that, despite the war, there must be heavy reserves of men North and South, who have not yet been called

into the field. The following is Superintendent Kennedy's estimate of the increase of the arms-bearing population during the year 1861:—

Entering on 18 years of age.....	277,500
Passing over 45 years of age.....	128,600
Difference.....	148,900
Deduct natural deaths of the military class.....	57,000
Annual home increase.....	91,900
Add for immigration in 1861.....	31,500
Total military increase in 1861.....	123,400

The increase in 1862 must have been much larger, as the immigration was nearly double what it was in 1861. It probably reached 150,000.

In estimating the relative increase of the arms-bearing population of the different sections of the Union, allowance should be made for the refugees who have left the South for the North. The drain upon the resources of the South from this cause must have been very large. All the Western cities are crowded with refugees; and the loss of population from emigration forbids the idea that there is a heavy reserve of arms-bearing men at the South.

RESISTANCE OF THE REBELS:

OR THE MAGNITUDE OF THE WORK IN CRUSHING THE REBELLION.

NEITHER party in this gigantic struggle fully comprehended at the outset the magnitude of the task they undertook. Had they done so, we doubt very much whether they would not, in accordance with our remonstrances and entreaties before the conflict began, have devised some better means than an appeal to the sword for a settlement of their disputes. Mr. Seward on our part talked of suppressing the rebellion in "ninety days," with 75,000 men as a military force; while Jefferson Davis calculated on our submission to his terms as soon as we should "smell Southern powder, and feel Southern steel." More than three years have been consumed in the conflict; and after keeping in the field most of this time a million of men or more on both sides, we find how vast an amount of blood and treasure it costs to take or besiege a single leading city in rebeldom like Richmond or Atlanta, Charleston or Mobile.

THE STRUGGLE FOR MOBILE.—Just glance at the obstacles to be overcome in its capture. Its "defences embrace almost everything which has ever been devised to strengthen a threatened or beleaguered city. There are two entrances to the bay,—one by the eastern projection of

Dauphin Island, called the Swash Channel, employed by all ships of heavy tonnage; the other by the north of Dauphin Island between it and Cedar Point, the southernmost extension of the mainland. The Swash Channel has about eighteen feet of water, and is between two and three miles broad. The island which divides these channels is narrow, and is about ten miles long. The passage between the island and mainland is not practicable for vessels of heavy draft. The approach of an attacking fleet must therefore be made by the Swash Channel.

Mobile Point, a low and sandy continuation of the eastern mainland, makes out for nearly twenty miles to the west of the mainland, and has its termination fortified by Fort Morgan. This, the chief defence of the bay and city, is built upon the site of old Fort Boyer, which beat off a British fleet in September, 1814. It is a stone fortification, was a long time in process of construction, and cost one million and a half of dollars. It mounts one hundred and thirty-six guns. Fort Gaines, upon the other side of the channel, was commenced, but not finished before the rebellion. It was designed to co-operate with Fort Morgan, and by a cross-fire render entrance impossible. It is said to mount fifty guns, which is the number for which it was intended. Between these two forts a line of spile obstructions stretches under the guns of the forts, with a single narrow opening near Fort Morgan for the ingress and egress of blockade runners. This opening is commanded by a number of heavy guns, trained upon it from the fort, and is constantly patrolled by picket boats.

The other opening, known as Grant's Pass, which was employed by the line of steamers plying between Mobile and New Orleans, is dominated by Fort Powell, on the southernmost point of the western coast of the mainland, which mounts twelve guns, by a water-battery of nine long-range guns, and a series of earthworks whose armament is not known. Sand Island, which lies a little beyond Fort Gaines, has been prepared with earthworks and armed with heavy guns. These defences are increased in their efficiency by the presence of some, if not all, of the iron-clads, kept in readiness to assist the forts.

But this exhibit does not include the defensive works. They are for the protection of the bay, and to prevent entrance from sea. When they have been reduced or passed, and the bay entered, a long line of intrenchments and circumvallations on the seaward side of the city answers equal defences on the land front. The whole southeastern front of the city, from the Alabama River to a little stream called Dog River, is strongly intrenched, with twelve independent earthworks of considerable size in their rear. These intrenchments and one of the channels to the city are, in their turn, strengthened by a battery of nine guns on Point Pintos, which rakes them. A battery of five guns at Garrow's Bend lends aid to that on Point Pintos, and sweeps the channel and its obstructions for three miles. Other earthworks near the city are built to repulse an attack from Spring Hill, supposing our forces to march from Porterville, on the Mississippi Sound. These are said to be eighteen miles in length, and are mounted with ordnance of an inferior quality. A casemated battery has also been constructed in the marsh, which was built up with

dirt and spiles for that purpose, and is armed with three one-hundred pound rifles, four nine-inch Dahlgren guns and three ordinary thirty-twos.

Near the Alabama River there is a redoubt to aid the marsh battery, which commands a portion of the bay. Another redoubt, mounting four guns, is north of this on the railway. The railroad bridge at Three-mile Run is guarded by a redoubt. The great earthwork, several miles in extent, which stretches from the shell road entirely round the city to the Alabama River, is several miles long, defended by breastworks and rifle-pits. A battery of six guns is erected between the shell road and Alabama River. The total guns mounted in the various defences is two hundred and seventeen.

But the forts, breastworks, booms, earthworks and batteries enumerated do not make the whole of the resisting power of the city. The bay lies between Fort Morgan and destruction; and it has been amply provided with defences. Admiral Buchanan, who has commanded there since the rebellion began, has devoted his energies to constructing a fleet to assist the army; and Selma, nearly two hundred miles north of the town on the Alabama River, has built a ram and several gunboats under his direction. Others have been constructed elsewhere; so that he now commands a total of twelve vessels, carrying fifty guns. By adding the guns afloat to those on land, it will be seen that the rebel defences at Mobile mount two hundred and sixty-seven guns."

To overcome these defences Admiral Farragut had the following fleet :—

Iron-Clads.

<i>Guns.</i>		<i>Guns.</i>	
Manhattan	2	Chickasaw	4
Tecumseh	2	Winnebago	4

Wooden Ships.

<i>Guns.</i>		<i>Guns.</i>	
Hartford (flag ship)	20	Port Royal	0
Richmond	18	Kennebec	5
Brooklyn	24	Pinola	4
Monongahela	12	Itasca	4
Lackawanna	14	Pembina	6
Oneida	10	Tennessee	5
Metacomet	10	Connemaugh	9
Genesee	8	Ossipee	13
Sebago	10	Galena	14

Tugs.

<i>Guns.</i>		<i>Guns.</i>	
Cowslip	2	Jessamine	2
Phillippi	2	Buckthorn	2
Glasgow	2		

Total number of guns.....231.

SOCIAL EVILS OF THE REBELLION. — Wherever it put its feet down, there was desolation. Its line of power is marked by the ashes of farm-houses and the *debris* of desecrated churches. It traced its boundaries with a finger of fire, and marked its outposts by depopulated villages. Its *avant couriers* were exiled women and children, fleeing for their lives. It laid its hand upon populous villages, peaceful and happy homes ; and they were cursed with the desolation of Sodom. Its laws were the sword and the bayonet ; its pæans of triumph the wailings of women, and the voice of Rachel crying for her children. Every living thing was blasted by it. Wide fields, spreading in beauty, were the camps for destroying armies, fine buildings the barracks for soldiers. A brutal soldiery had no law but their own lusts, no God but their own passions. Everything valuable that they wished was seized ; and what they could not carry off was destroyed. Commissions of plunder were issued, and armed bands searched and stole under the authority of law. No place within the narrow circuit was safe from devastation. Everything they touched withered. In their flight they destroyed, with indiscriminate outrage, whatever was most valuable. It made no difference whether it was the property of Union or Secession, the fell spirit of organized mob struck it. The mere fact of its being property was enough to demand its destruction. — *Louisville Democrat*.

Such are the fruits of rebellion all over the South. The New Orleans *Delta* thus appeals to men on the spot : —

“Look around, and behold the wide-spread ruin and desolation now involving the entire South. First, the property in four millions of human beings actually annihilated ; four thousand millions of gold dollars suddenly made null and void. Two entire crops of cotton ; eight millions of bales, worth, at only forty dollars per bale, three hundred and twenty millions of dollars. Add the tobacco, the rice, the sugar, and other productions ; then the destruction by fire, and the ravages of war ; the inestimable value of human life lost ; the disorder, rapine, and general dissoluteness of guerrilla warfare ; the reams of fictitious paper money, the depreciation of real property, the plantations deserted and uncultivated, and the inevitable delay which must take place before matters can be righted, and the societary wheels of progress again commence to move. Combine all these ; and some slight approximation may be made of the vast extent of ruin lying on every side around us.”

SACRIFICE OF OFFICERS. — It seems that in less than three months of the present campaign, from May to August, no less than thirty-nine rebel generals were killed, wounded, or captured ; if inferior officers in proportion, the whole number must have been enormous. We presume the rebels claim to have been quite as successful in making havoc of our officers. What a fearful waste of valuable life ! How long, at this rate,

will it take to pick off the chief military men in the land? How many has the North already lost; and at the South how few are now left of those who were once foremost in the rebellion, as its military leaders?

OUR HOSPITALS.—Hardly anything shows more surely, if more strikingly, the waste of human life and power in war than a view of its victims cooped up in military hospitals. Let a man visit those in Philadelphia,—750 in one, 3,000 in another, and 3,500 in a third, or the twenty or thirty in and around Washington, all crowded to their utmost capacity; and he will get new and juster conceptions of the havoc which an appeal to the sword makes of men in the full bloom and vigor of life. There are now (in the summer) about 140,000 sick and wounded soldiers in the hospitals throughout the country. This includes all those in camp hospitals, of which there are about 50,000. At present there are only about 15,000 patients in the Washington hospitals.

STATE DEBTS INCREASED BY THE REBELLION.—That of Connecticut is now said to be \$8,400,000; but up to 1861, we believe that she had no debt at all, but a school fund so large as to cover nearly all the expense of her admirable common-school system. All her expenses amounted formerly to only about \$100,000 a year; but now her debt in three years is \$8,000,000, on which she must pay annually \$492,000, or nearly five times as much as all her ordinary expenses before the rebellion. A committee of her Legislature, at its recent session, estimate that \$2,750,000 must be raised this year, or more than twenty-seven times as much as in years past. All this, beside what the rebellion has cost individuals, towns, and cities in so many ways, and while the resources of her people, by the withdrawal of laborers, the suspension or derangement of business, and the largely increased expenses of living, have been very much diminished. Does rebellion pay? How much, at this rate, must it ultimately cost the whole country?

SPECIMENS OF REBEL GUERRILLA WARFARE.

GUERRILLAS have heretofore been treated as outlaws; and Wellington, like other commanders in civilized warfare, used to shoot or hang them without ceremony; but the leaders of our rebellion claim these outlaws, so widely scattered over loyal Slave States, and capable in this way of

committing with comparative impunity the worst outrages, as a part of their legitimate forces, yet without holding themselves responsible for the atrocities they perpetrate. We condense some illustrations of the barbarism that characterizes the rebellion.

QUANTRELL'S SACK OF LAWRENCE, KANSAS.—Quantrell formerly lived in Lawrence, and had no difficulty in telling whose house should be burned, and whose spared.

"The inhabitants of the principal streets," says the Leavenworth Times, "were aroused about half-past four o'clock in the morning by horsemen riding furiously through the town. Quantrell entered the place about a quarter before five o'clock in person, and immediately posted his pickets around the town in every direction. At sunrise the work of plunder and murder commenced. Bands roved around through the streets and suburbs at will, robbing and shooting down every man they met, with the demoniac abandon of cannibals. We doubt whether there is a parallel case of unmixed atrocity in the history of civilization during the last century. Men seemed inspired with the profoundest spirit of hell, in the very demonism with which they murdered, for the space of about six hours, innocent, unoffending, and unarmed men and boys."

"Stores," says another paper, "were broken open and robbed of all portable property, safes knocked open and plundered. Men were shot in the streets as a city marshal would shoot mad dogs. Men and women were alike at the mercy of the rebel assassins. Those thought themselves fortunate who were only asked, 'Hand over those greenbacks!' for many were killed first and robbed afterward. Rings, watches, jewels, and money, were taken from ladies; and fiends rode yelling through the streets, with gold chains and crosses dangling from their necks. So universally were the citizens robbed, that Mr. Montague, who came here for surgeons and medicines for the wounded, found it difficult to get a few dollars to defray his expenses. When he left, the town seemed to be one sheet of fire. The heat was intense, and persons could hardly pass through the streets to relieve the wounded and collect the dead. The wailing of the women and orphaned children filled the air, and brought again to memory the days when the Free State families were butchered on their own hearthstones."

The guerrillas entered the town yelling at the top of their voices, that they intended to kill all without exception. In this spirit they slew right and left whomsoever they came across. Four Germans, lying on a platform in front of a building where they had been sleeping through the night, they shot while asleep. They said "they had orders to slay indiscriminately, and that the whole town was to be destroyed, and every soul in it butchered." And well did they do their savage work.

Citizens without arms, who came to the door in obedience to their call, would be shot at sight. Several were shot down on the sidewalk,

and when the buildings burned, their bodies would roast. Others could be seen in the burning buildings. In one instance the wife and daughter of a man threw themselves over his body, begging for his life; but one of the marauders deliberately thrust his revolver down between the two women, and killed the man. The sight that met us when coming out I cannot describe. Well-known citizens were lying in front of the spot where their stores or residences had been, completely roasted. The bodies were crisped and nearly black. We thought at first that they were all negroes, till we recognized some of them. In handling the dead bodies, pieces of roasted flesh would remain in our hands.

Soon our strength failed us in this horrible and sickening work. Many could not help crying like children. Women and little children were all over town hunting for their husbands and fathers; and sad indeed was the scene when they did finally find them among the corpses laid out for recognition. I cannot describe the horrors; language fails me, and the recollection of scenes I witnessed makes me sick when I repeat them."

"We are having," says one writing from Northern Missouri, in April, 1864, "pretty hard times here again this spring; and judging by appearances, I fear that we shall have a harder time than we had last summer. The traitors have already recommenced their atrocities upon Union men. They are shooting them down on all sides. Six were shot up near Edina last week. I was acquainted with some of them. One was a school-teacher named Norcross, and your city was his native place. He was one of the finest men Knox County could produce. Not only at Edina, but in all sections of the county, the traitors are committing the same inhuman deeds. There is certainly something wrong with the government; for we can do nothing with the traitors. Our officers allow us only to take prisoners and bring them to head-quarters, where they take the oath of allegiance and are let go again. That only makes things worse; for they go home and act worse than before we took them. My motto is, *shoot them down where they are found*. The Union men of this county will take the thing into their own hands before long, and then will commence a war of extermination. From present appearances I think the secesh programme will be to raise an insurrection on some certain night, and kill all they can lay their hands on, before the troops can interfere."

In June, 1864, we have reports like the following from Memphis, Tenn.: "The brief telegraphic despatches sent north give no true conception of the extent and barbarism of guerrilla warfare. Full details of the minor atrocities committed by these outlaws, even in the immediate vicinity of Memphis within the last thirty days, would make a volume of horrors such as has never yet been laid before the world. Cases of individual robbery and murder, no matter how shocking may be their attendant circumstances, no longer attract more than a mere flash of notice. That day is long since past. The murder of the unfortunate Carson, who, for daring to attempt to defend his household from the depredations of guerrillas, was brutally tortured and killed, is even now seldom thought of, except by those who have especial occasion to remember it. This man, who was a farmer of some means, was for that reason, and for his fidelity to the

Union, tied upon his back to a fallen tree, and his body chopped open as an axeman would split a log. Abner Spears, of Tipton County, was tied in his own house, and, thus powerless, forced to witness the perpetration of the most disgusting atrocities upon his family, who in turn were made to look on while he was hung, and left hanging to the limb of a tree. The cause of all this was, that a party of Union cavalry had passed his house a few days before without molesting his property. He was therefore suspected of being in favor with the Unionists, and this was the extent of his offending. Many other instances, presenting every conceivable phase of barbarism, are called to mind by writing of these facts."

Late in the season (July, 1864), we find such accounts as the following from Missouri: "The atrocities of the rebels are fearful. They profess to excuse themselves by saying that the Union soldiers never spare one of their number, and hence they are bound to retaliate. The rebels carry this, however, to shooting unarmed citizens, rushing into undefended houses, and killing citizens before their wives and children. They crossed the Missouri River from Saline County on the 16th into Carroll County, and in a few hours killed nine citizens on the Carrollton road, about five miles from the town. Three of these victims were discharged soldiers. The murderers then crossed Grand River, waylaid the Brunswick mail-stage, robbed the passengers, took Captain Snyder of the Home-Guards into the woods and brutally killed him. Eleven bullets were fired into his head.

"These fiends boldly avowed that they intended to kill all Union men who had ever taken up arms for the flag. A German named Baner, was caught running across a field, and immediately hanged to a tree near by. A house was entered in Howard County by bushwhackers, the father killed and his wife and daughters outraged by five of the villains. In Platte County, an old man named Morris had his eyes put out, and was then killed by Thornton's guerrillas. These are a portion of the well-authenticated stories of rebel barbarities we hear of every day. Is it singular that the Union men cry aloud for vengeance against the stay-at-home traitors who encourage bushwhacking? Indeed, it has come to this in the Northwest, that either Union men or rebels must leave the country, and it is decreed that the rebels must go."

MORAL RESULTS OF SUCH GUERRILLA WARFARE. — These will at once be foreseen as inevitable; but we quote a passing sketch of them by an observer on the spot: "We passed," says a writer to the *New York Times*, "a melancholy sight, — a wagon filled with emigrants and all their worldly goods. By the side trudged a little barefooted fellow, ragged and dirty. My companion said to him, 'Well, my little man, where do you live?' He sadly answered, 'We don't live *nowhere*, only in a *waggin*.' We met another party on horseback. One of the men told us how his house had been attacked in the night by a gang of marauding secessionists, and how he had made one of them bite the dust, with a bullet which he said, 'took him *spat* between the shoulders.'

Such things are common. War has developed the wickedness of men, and fostered all their evil passions. Men swear and lie and steal

and kill, who were never guilty of such acts before. The Sabbath seems utterly disregarded. The churches and schools are closed, and the devil seems to reign supreme. A Christian man who retains his religion is worthy of all honor; or rather his thanks are due to that divine grace which alone could preserve him. We reached Springfield on Saturday. In some of the houses the windows are all broken, doors have been smashed, and the floors and walls are covered with filth and grease. Many of the yards have been used for keeping horses, and the young fruit-trees are completely barked. The groves have been cut down for firewood."

PRICE OF A VICTORY. — The groans, the yells, the cries of despair and suffering, were a mournful commentary on the exultation of the victors, and on the joy which reigned along the bivouac fires of our men. As many of our wounded as could possibly be picked up ere darkness set in, were conveyed on stretchers to the hospital tents. Many of the others were provided with blankets, and covered as they lay in their blood. Long after night had closed, faint lights might be seen moving over the frightful field, marking the spots where friendship directed the steps of some officer in search of a wounded comrade, or where the pillager yet stalked about on his horrid errand.

The attitudes of some of the dead were awful. One man might be seen resting on one knee, with the arms extended in the form of taking aim, the brow compressed, the lips clinched, the very expression of firing at an enemy stamped on the face, and fixed there by death. A ball had struck this man in the neck. Another was lying on his back, with the same expression, and his arms raised in a similar attitude, the Minie musket still grasped in his hands undischarged. Many without legs or arms were trying to crawl down to the waterside. I saw a Russian soldier on the field just after the fight. He was shot right through the head, and the brain protruded in large masses at the back of the head, and from the front of the skull. I saw the wounded man raise his hand, wipe the horrible mass from his brow, and proceed to struggle down the hill towards the water. Hundreds are lying dead, dying, and wounded for miles round the field of battle. We were employed yesterday burying the dead, and have been at it all this morning; but we have not buried half of them yet. — *Battle of Alma, 1854.*

SAFETY OF A PEACE POLICY. — A nation so much under the influence of the gospel as to feel the obligation to live at peace with its neighbors would diffuse, in a considerable measure, the same spirit among them. No people can arrive at so exalted a state of wisdom and goodness, without making a powerful impression on all the countries around. By diplomatic characters, the principles would be conveyed into the cabinets of the rulers of these countries, propagated in conversation by travellers,

in ten thousand respectable domestic groups, and above all, disseminated in books through the mass of the people by converts to the cause. The natural force of these principles will recommend them to men of intelligence, their excellence to philanthropists, and their claims of submission from the authority of God to all who regulate their conduct by divine will.

Hence there would be a progress toward the spirit of peace in every land. From the growth of the pacific principle in neighboring regions, the facility of living at peace would be astonishingly increased; and the wise and happy nation, determined to act on the maxims of the gospel, would find its difficulties diminished from year to year, and its system of love gaining ground from day to day! Oh that *our* country would set the example to the world, and commence the reign of peace on earth, and good-will towards men of every land. — *Dr. Bogue.*

THE EVILS OF THE TIMES.

It is not pleasant to play the part of a Cassandra or a Jeremiah, a general alarmist, or a prophet of evil. Yet who can deny that there are many portentous features in our national life at the present moment, or fail to cherish apprehension lest there be in store a yet more severe providential scourge? The downfall of human bondage, and the other great gains to grow out of the existing contest, are certainly not sufficiently large to excuse all sorts of personal wickedness. While we are deeply grateful for all good received or expected, let us not shut our eyes to evils which imperil the very substance of our national well-being.

There is an unusual *prevalence of gross vices*. Intemperance runs riot. Instances of intoxication are twice as numerous as they were three years ago, and drinking usages have begun to reappear in nearly every class of society. Profaneness of speech has become much more common than of old. It intrudes in places and scenes where it was formerly unknown. Boys, even mere children, have caught the horrid dialect. The presence of females or of ministers is deemed no reason for avoiding the disgusting habit. Licentiousness, too, has fearfully increased. Its victims are more numerous than ever. Under a thin veil, immorality reeks in all our towns, and a spreading contamination, physical and moral, seriously attacks the foundations of society.

Extravagance in life is so common as to attract every one's notice. Never was so much money spent upon mere show, in frivolous amusement, in objects of luxury. Amid all the waste and destruction of war, multitudes live as if they were in the midst of peace and plenty. Now, we do not plead for a perpetual fast, or for voluntary privations, or any shape of asceticism, or for a mean parsimony; but surely there is a difference between a reasonable cheerfulness, and the mania we now see for expensive houses, servants, equipage, raiment, jewelry, and all the paraphernalia of luxury. This ostentation of prodigality is a bad sign; this excessive care for personal comforts and artificial wants has a threatening aspect.

Speculation is a peculiarly serious evil of the time. This is the name people give to enterprises which are as really gambling as the faro-table. There is no honest work, no productive labor, no addition to the wealth of the community; not even a facilitation of the exchange of products between different classes of consumers, but simply an increase or depression of prices, a creation of fictitious values, a mere scheming of the wits to conjure away what others have toiled for. The inflation of the currency is no excuse for the stock-gambler, or for the daring speculator in gold, in his country's credit, in his countrymen's comforts or necessities. The number and the previous character of the persons engaged in operations of this kind argue very badly for the morals of the community. No good man should want to become rich at the expense of the poor, or at the expense of the country.

Forestalling is another vice of the hour. There are those who use their credit or their means to hinder the ordinary wants of life from meeting their supply. These combinations to enhance the price of articles in daily domestic use are abominable. Even the heathen execrated them, much more should Christians. Wealth acquired in such a way, by sending apprehension and distress into thousands of peaceful homes, is indeed but the wages of sin, and should eat like a canker into the flesh of its owners. An inflated currency makes prices rise fast enough; but what shall be said of those who artificially aggravate this evil for their own emolument?

Evasion of public obligations is also noteworthy. Some would like to see the war prolonged, because they are making money by it; others are fraudulent in contracts, and cheat both the government and the soldiers; others stoop to any meanness to get rid of their just tax, either trying to save their traffic from the duty, or if it be imposed, by subterfuge, to keep back from the collector what he has a right to claim. All this is as sinful as it is unpatriotic.

From these evils there follows a *great laxity of morals*. The worst sin is indifference to sin; and this is just what has come to pass. The general moral sense is hardened. Frauds and falsehoods are tolerated. Men growing rich by wrong-doing have all impunity; legislators themselves connive at evasions of the law; even respectable people and journals have taught that the end justifies the means, and that the hideous gambling which even the civil statute forbids, is allowable if practised in aid of charity.

Now, it is plain that these things do more than anything else to postpone the day when the war shall end. They give aid and comfort to the enemy. They diminish the moral earnestness which can alone terminate the struggle. They weaken the stamina of the nation. They unfit for the sacrifice and self-denial which must be borne if we are to come out with colors flying. More than all, they provoke the great God Almighty, and give him just cause for withdrawing his favor and leaving us to a bitter heritage of disappointment, defeat, and shame. No Christian man can do a better, a more patriotic work just now, than by throwing himself with his whole soul into the work of resisting sin, opposing immorality, doing righteousness, and standing up for truth, honor, and right in every

relation, private, domestic, social, and national. *It is moral forces which are to decide the issue now trembling in the balance.* — *Christian Intelligencer.*

RELIGIOUS RESULTS OF THE REBELLION. — We hear much about the progress of religion and morals as quite remarkable in view of our conflict with the rebels. It may be remarkable; but what are the general facts on the subject? Take the Baptists as a specimen. Their increase has been comparatively small the past year. In a membership of 1,039,400 the gain has been only 1,824. In nine States their numerical strength has been diminished. Among the States which have witnessed an increase in their Baptist membership, Illinois stands first on the list, her net gain being 2,856; more than that of all the other States put together, and nearly nine per cent. of her former membership. Of the Baptist colleges and theological seminaries, every one located in the Southern States has suspended, save two in Missouri. The suspension of Baptist newspapers in the South is even more complete. So of nearly all denominations that have a portion of their churches in the Slave States. Take the whole country, and the rebellion will be found to have swept it as a sort of moral Simoom.

CONTINENTAL MONEY—ITS VALUE. — The following table (from "Harpers' Monthly"), shows its monthly depreciation, taking specie as the standard, from 1777 to 1781. To buy \$100 in specie it took of this money, at the dates specified, the sums which follow:—

	1777.	1778.	1779.	1780.	1781.
January.....	\$105	\$325	\$742	\$2,924	\$7,400
February.....	107	350	868	3,322	7,500
March.....	109	370	1,000	4,736	....
April.....	112	400	1,104	4,000	....
May.....	115	400	1,215	4,600	....
June.....	120	400	1,342	6,400	....
July.....	125	425	1,477	8,900	....
August.....	150	450	1,630	7,000	....
September.....	175	475	1,800	7,100	....
October.....	275	500	2,030	7,200	....
November.....	300	545	2,308	7,300	....
December.....	310	634	2,593	7,400	....

No wonder the people became restive under such a state of things; and to this cause in no small degree was owing the "Shay rebellion in Massachusetts."

HIGH COMPENSATION TO OUR TROOPS. — Never did a government pay its soldiers so liberally as ours does. Seldom are common soldiers paid so well for their labor. Indeed, they might, if rigidly temperate and economical, grow moderately rich. The *Portland Press* gives the follow-

ing case : " A private had on the allotment roll \$10 per month reserved to be deposited in the Savings-Bank, reserving only three per month to spend for himself. After twenty months' pay the allotment was discontinued. Two hundred dollars therefore were deposited. Out of the \$3 per month, and by taking what money is allowed if clothing is not drawn, he managed to save and send home at one time \$25, at another time \$21, to be forwarded to his father in Nova Scotia. Within a few days \$250 have come by express to be also deposited in the bank. The state and city bounties for re-enlistment are yet to be paid, which will swell the sum, with interest accrued, to upward of \$750. At the close of the war, at this rate, he will have a small fortune for a common soldier." It has been observed everywhere that the families of common laborers have been much more " flush " of money than they ever were before, and might, but for their improvident habits, have been laying up something " for a rainy day."

GEN. GRANT'S VIEWS. — *Extreme efforts of the rebels to raise troops.* " The rebels have now in their ranks their last man. The little boys and old men are guarding prisoners, guarding railroads and bridges, and forming a good part of their garrisons for intrenched positions. A man lost by them cannot be replaced. *They have robbed the cradle and the grave equally to get their present force.* Beside what they lose in frequent skirmishes and battles, they are now losing, from desertion and other causes, at least one regiment per day. With this drain upon them, the end is not far distant, *if we will only be true to ourselves.* Their only hope now is in a divided North. With the draft quietly enforced, they would become despondent, and would make but little resistance. I have no doubt but they are exceedingly anxious to hold out until after the Presidential election. They have many hopes from its effects ; they hope a counter revolution."

Results to be expected from the Independence of the rebels. — " Our peace friends, if they expect peace from separation, are much mistaken. It would be but the beginning of war. To have peace on any terms, the South would demand *the restoration of their slaves already freed.* They would demand *indemnity for losses sustained,* and they would demand *a treaty which would make the North slave-hunters for the South.* They would demand *pay, or the restoration of every slave escaping to the North.*"

The above extracts from a letter of Gen. Grant so late as August 16, 1864, set forth only a part of the numberless evils sure to flow from our consenting to any terms of peace that shall not remove, or bring under our control, the great and only serious bone of contention, the system of slavery, and leave us, from the Lakes to the Gulf, one people, a single republic. War is always an unchristian, suicidal way of settling any dispute ; but if it is to be, as it is likely to be, the arbiter in this controversy,

better by far to fight on till it is ended forever. A war of ten, twenty, or even fifty years, would not be so bad as the well-nigh ceaseless conflicts that must follow from a slave empire established in the heart of our country. Farewell then to all hope of any reliable peace upon this continent for long ages to come.

REBEL TREATMENT OF PRISONERS:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF CONGRESS UPON OUR RETURNED PRISONERS.

Senate's Committee. — At the request of the Secretary of War, the Committee proceeded to Annapolis and Baltimore, and examined the condition of our returned soldiers, and took the testimony of several of them, together with the testimony of surgeons and other persons in attendance upon the hospitals.

The evidence proves, beyond all manner of doubt, a determination on the part of the rebel authorities, deliberately and persistently practised for a long time past, to subject those of our soldiers who have been so unfortunate as to fall into their hands to a system of treatment which has resulted in reducing many of those who have survived and been permitted to return to us to a condition, both physically and mentally, which no language we can use can adequately describe. Though nearly all the patients now in the Naval Academy hospital at Annapolis, and in the West hospital, in Baltimore, have been under the kindest and most intelligent treatment for about three weeks past, and many of them for a greater length of time, still they present literally the appearance of living skeletons, many of them being nothing but skin and bone; some of them are maimed for life, having been frozen while exposed to the inclemency of the winter season on Belle Isle, being compelled to lie on the bare ground, without tents or blankets, some of them without overcoats or even coats, with but little fire to mitigate the severity of the winds and storms to which they were exposed.

The testimony shows that the general practice of their captors was to rob them, as soon as they were taken prisoners, of all their money, valuables, blankets, and good clothing, for which they received nothing in exchange except, perhaps, some old, worn-out rebel clothing hardly better than none at all. Upon their arrival at Richmond they have been confined, without blankets or other covering, in buildings without fire, or upon Belle Isle with, in many cases, no shelter, and in others with nothing but old discarded army tents, so injured by rents and holes as to present but little barrier to the wind and storms. On several occasions, the witnesses say, they have arisen in the morning from their resting-places upon the bare earth, and found several of their comrades frozen to death during the night, and that many others would have met the same fate, had they not walked rapidly back and forth during the hours which should have been devoted to sleep, for the purpose of retaining sufficient warmth to preserve life.

In respect to the food furnished to our men by the rebel authorities, the testimony proves that the ration of each man was totally insufficient in quantity to preserve the health of a child, even had it been of proper quality, which it was not. It consisted usually, at most, of two small pieces of corn-bread, made in many instances, as the witnesses state, of corn and cobs ground together, and badly prepared and cooked, of at times, about two ounces of meat, usually of poor quality, and unfit to be eaten, and occasionally a few black, worm-eaten beans, or something of that kind. Many of our men were compelled to sell to their guards and others, for what price they could get, such clothing and blankets as they were permitted to receive of that forwarded for their use by our government, in order to obtain additional food sufficient to sustain life; thus, by endeavoring to avoid one privation, reducing themselves to the same destitute condition in respect to clothing and covering that they were in before they received any from our government. When they became sick and diseased in consequence of this exposure and privation, and were admitted into the hospitals, their treatment was little, if any, improved as to food, though they doubtless suffered less from exposure to cold than before. Their food still remained insufficient in quantity, and altogether unfit in quality. Their diseases and wounds did not receive the treatment which the commonest dictates of humanity would have prompted. One witness, whom your committee examined, who had lost all the toes of one foot from being frozen while on Belle Isle, states that for days at a time his wounds were not dressed, and that they had not been dressed for four days when he was taken from the hospital and carried on the flag-of-truce boat for Fortress Monroe.

In addition to this insufficient supply of food, clothing, and shelter, our soldiers, while prisoners, have been subjected to the most cruel treatment from those placed over them. They have been abused and shamefully treated on almost every opportunity. Many have been mercilessly shot and killed when they failed to comply with all the demands of their jailers, sometimes for violating rules of which they had not been informed. Crowded in great numbers in buildings they have been fired at and killed by the sentinels outside when they appeared at the windows for the purpose of obtaining a little fresh air. One man, whose comrade in the service, in battle, and in captivity, had been so fortunate as to be among those released from further torments, was shot dead as he was waving with his hand a last adieu to his friend. Other instances of equally unprovoked murder are disclosed by the testimony.

The condition of our returned soldiers, as regards personal cleanliness, has been filthy almost beyond description. Their clothes have been so dirty and so covered with vermin that those who received them have been compelled to destroy their clothing, and re-clothe them with new and clean raiment. Their bodies and heads have been so infested with vermin that, in some instances, repeated washings have failed to remove them; and those who have received them in charge have been compelled to cut all the hair from their heads, and make applications to destroy the vermin. Some have been received with no clothing but shirts and

drawers, and a piece of blanket or other outside covering, entirely destitute of coats, hats, shoes, or stockings; and the bodies of those better supplied with clothing have been equally dirty and filthy with the others, many who have been sick and in the hospital having had no opportunity to wash their bodies for weeks and months before they were released from captivity.

Your committee are unable to convey any adequate idea of the sad and deplorable condition of the men they saw in the hospitals they visited; and the testimony they have taken cannot convey to the reader the impressions which your committee there received. The persons we saw, as we were assured by those in charge of them, have greatly improved since they have been received in the hospitals. Yet they are now dying daily, one of them being in the very throes of death as your committee stood by his bed-side, and witnessed the sad spectacle there presented. All those whom your committee examined stated that they have been thus reduced and emaciated entirely in consequence of the merciless treatment they received while prisoners from their enemies; and the physicians in charge of them, the men best fitted by their profession and experience to express an opinion upon the subject, all say that they have no doubt that the statements of their patients are entirely correct.

It will be observed from the testimony, that all the witnesses who testify upon that point state that the treatment they received while confined at Columbia, Dalton, and other places, was far more humane than that they received at Richmond, where the authorities of the so-called confederacy were congregated, and where the power existed, had the inclination not been wanting, to reform those abuses and secure to the prisoners they held some treatment that would bear a public comparison to that accorded by our authorities to the prisoners in our custody. Your committee, therefore, are constrained to say that they can hardly avoid the conclusion expressed by so many of our released soldiers, that the inhuman practices herein referred to are the result of a determination on the part of the rebel authorities to reduce our soldiers in their power, by privation of food and clothing, and by exposure, to such a condition that those who may survive shall never recover so as to be able to render any effective service in the field. As regards the assertions of some of the rebel newspapers, that our prisoners have received at their hands the same treatment that their own soldiers in the field have received, they are evidently but the most glaring and unblushing falsehoods. No one can for a moment be deceived by such statements, who will reflect that our soldiers, who, when taken prisoners, have been stout, healthy men, in the prime and vigor of life, yet have died by hundreds under the treatment they have received, although required to perform no duties of the camp or the march; while the rebel soldiers are able to make long and rapid marches, and to offer a stubborn resistance in the field.

Your committee, finding it impossible to describe in words the deplorable condition of these returned prisoners, have caused photographs to be taken of a number of them, and a fair sample to be lithographed and ap-

pended to their report, that their exact condition may be known by all who examine it. Some of them have since died.

We have little space for the detailed testimony in this case ; but will quote a few specimens.

Surgeon W. S. Ely says, — "I have assisted in unloading these prisoners from the boat. I have frequently seen on the boat bodies of those who have died while being brought here, and I have frequently known them to die while being conveyed from the boat to the hospital ward. Their condition is such (their whole constitution being undermined) that the best of care and medical treatment, and all the sanitary and hygeian measures that we can introduce appear to be useless. Their whole assimilative functions appear to be impaired. Medicines and food appear, in many cases, to have no effect upon them. We have made post mortem examinations repeatedly of cases here, and on all occasions we find the system very much reduced, and in many cases the muscles almost entirely gone, — reduced to nothing literally but skin and bone ; the blood vitiated and depraved, and an anæmic condition of the entire system apparent. The fact that in many cases of post mortems we had discovered no organic disease justifies us in the conclusion that the fatal result is owing principally, if not entirely, to a deprivation of food and other articles necessary to support life, and to improper exposure. On all occasions when arriving here, these men have been found in the most filthy condition, it being almost impossible, in many cases, to clean them by repeated washings. The functions of the skin are entirely impaired, and in many cases they are encrusted with dirt, owing, as they say, to being compelled to lie on the sand at Belle Island ; and the normal function of the skin has not been recovered until the cuticle has been entirely thrown off. Their bodies are covered with vermin, so that it has been found necessary to throw away all the clothing which they had on when they arrived here, and provide them entirely with new clothing. Their hair has been filled with vermin, so that we have been obliged to cut their hair all off, and make applications to kill the vermin in their heads. Many of them state that they have had no opportunity to wash their bodies for six or eight months, and have not done so."

Chaplain Henries says, — "All language fails to fully express their real condition. Their appearance is haggard in the extreme ; ragged, destitute even of shoes, and very frequently without pants or blouses, or any covering except their drawers and shirts, and perhaps a half a blanket, or something like that ; sometimes without hats, and in the most filthy condition that it is possible to conceive of either beast or man being reduced to in any circumstances ; unable to give either their names, their residence, regiments, or any facts, in consequence of their mental depression, so that I believe the surgeons have found it quite impossible sometimes to ascertain their relation to the army. Their statements agree almost universally in regard to their treatment at the hands of the rebels."



TO EDITORS—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.

TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL—the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1.00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706.....	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196.....	75
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,.....	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252.....	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212.....	25
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108.....	20
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier, 16 mo., pp. 303. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.....	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay, 12mo., pp. 333.....	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310.....	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond, 8vo., pp. 168.....	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.....	20
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2.50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.....	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12.....	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.....	
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts.	

FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of _____ dollars, to be paid in _____ months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. — Be very careful to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested by the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your purpose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE.— *The law allows* only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may be addressed all communications designed for the Society.


Dec 16

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR
NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

CONTENTS.

Presidential Election.....	165	Rebel Treatment of Prisoners	
Our Doctrine.....	168	Robbing of Prisoners.....	187
Colonial Taxation.....	171	Their Prisons and Treatment	
How to close a Civil War.....	172	there.....	189
Crime of Revolution.....	174	Their Rations.....	189
How War avenges Insult.....	179	Worse Treatment of Prisoners..	191
Emancipation in Russia.....	180	Responsibility for the Atrocities	
Emancipation in Poland.....	183	of their Conflicts.....	194
Rebel Treatment of Prisoners.....	184	Our Debt	195
Outline of Facts.....	184	Capture of the Florida	196
Treatment required by Civilized		Labor in Military Operations.....	196
Warfare	187	Funds.....	196

 *See last page of cover.*

BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.
CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.
1864.



THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

POLITICS AND PEACE:

OR, THE INFLUENCE OF THE LATE ELECTION IN SECURING PEACE.

THE sword is not the only nor the chief power in the world. Behind and above it there is a moral influence more powerful far, generally quiet, and always peaceful, that is sure in the long run to control it, and subsidize it sooner or later to its own ends. Well did John Milton, Cromwell's Secretary of State, remind him that

Peace hath her victories

No less renowned than war.

In such a victory our country is now rejoicing in the election of President Lincoln for another term of four years; an event itself so significant, and so full of good omens, that we cannot refrain from giving it a passing notice.

This election is certainly a very searching test of democracy, and has proved, much beyond our fears, its safety and efficiency. Few governments in the world would have stood such a trial so well. An extreme and perilous freedom of speech and action was allowed. Persons opposed to the administration had been for years hard at work to dislodge from office those who now administer the government, and were permitted to ply every art and means, short of an actual resort to

the sword, for the accomplishment of their ends. Disloyal men all over the Free States, the Northern wing of the rebellion, its sympathizers, and virtual, if not active, abettors, had made in every way possible the most desperate efforts to insure, whether so intended or not, its triumph in the dismemberment of our Republic. They had without restraint denounced in fiercest terms the measures taken by our government to put down the rebels, had organized hundreds of thousands of men in secret to resist its authority in the loyal States, and furnished them to a large extent with arms and ammunition to drench, far and wide, our own hearthstones in blood.

No wonder thoughtful men trembled for a time, and were filled with joy to see the canvass conducted with so little bitterness, the election held with little violence in any place, and our whole people quietly acquiescing in the result as a matter of course. Even demagogues the most violent, and their most reckless, most desperate adherents, bowed with scarce a murmur to the popular will expressed through the ballot-box. Well may we exult over such an exhibition of democracy as a triumphant vindication of its character, and of its safe and beneficent operation. Does it not afford a fair, decisive answer to the reproaches cast upon it by aristocrats who hate its principles, and dread its influence, and the spread of its popularity and power?

These reproaches must be fresh in the memory of our readers. How often has our government been represented as the football of a mob; as overawed by reckless rowdies and desperadoes from cities like New York; as afraid to act out the honest dictates of its own judgment; as trampling at other times on the rights and liberties of the people, muzzling the press, and endeavoring to prevent a free expression of their views. But what are the facts even in this extreme case? Men in correspondence and virtual alliance with our Southern rebels, were allowed without resistance to hold their convention at Chicago avowedly for the overthrow of the administration, to criticise and denounce its course with remorseless severity, and freely use all legal, peaceful means in their power to put in office a set of men that would reverse their whole policy. These political foes, often little better themselves than rebels, were still protected in their legal rights as fully as the most loyal supporters of the government. In the city of New York, where thousands of rebels share its protection even while plotting its overthrow, where the scum and offscourings of European ignorance, poverty, and crime have so long been poured as into a common sewer, and where English, French and German merchants requite

our hospitality by evading our laws, maligning our character, and tracing our institutions, the administration took effectual measures, chiefly through a general (Butler) more outrageously abused than any other man by our rebels and their sympathizers at home and abroad, to secure for scores of thousands the fullest opportunity to cast their votes against the men now in office. The whole power of the government stood ready to protect every citizen, whether friend or foe, in the enjoyment of all his rights; nor was there a loyal man in the land that did not applaud our rulers in this even-handed justice.

But our chief interest as peace men in this election is found in its probable influence in hastening or insuring a right settlement of our difficulties. Its significance in this respect cannot well be mistaken. All the desperate efforts made by sympathizers with slavery and rebellion to change the policy of the government in dealing with the rebels, have ended in utter, overwhelming defeat, one of the most decisive our country has ever witnessed. Their candidate obtained scarce one in ten of the electoral votes! There is no possibility of mistaking the significance of such a result. It means, as far as *any* expression of popular will can mean, that slavery shall cease from all the land, that the government shall recover its rightful authority over every foot of our original territory, and that the conflict shall continue, cost what it may, till all these ends are fully secured. It would now seem quite certain that peace can be had only on these terms, but on these might be at once. If the rebels will submit, as they ought from the first, to the government, and consent to the abolition of slavery as the cause of this rebellion, and fatal to our future peace and prosperity, the contest would cease of course; but if they will not, it must go on till suffering and utter exhaustion shall compel a cessation of hostilities. How soon this will be, none can tell; but we find no reason to change the opinion we have had from the first, that the rebel leaders, having staked everything on the issue, will hold out just as long as they can keep their desperate, despotic grasp upon the people of the South. Till then we see no hope of peace.

Ought we, indeed, to desire peace upon any other terms? The people have most emphatically said, No. Are they right? There was a time, early in the rebellion, when we would fain have averted an appeal to the sword by letting the rebels have their way; but on witnessing a fuller development of their character, plans, and ulterior purposes, we shrunk, as wiser men did, from the responsibility of counselling what was so sure to entail not only perpetual slavery, but in-

cessant strife and interminable wars. Should the rebellion triumph, all these evils must come; and in this view its suppression at whatever cost may be found, as men now reason, the cheapest as well as surest way to insure the future peace of our country and our continent. We know well how terrible is the process; but as things are now, and with the habits with which the mass of our people have been trained, we see no other way. Our own views, if diffused in season all over the land, would have rendered the rebellion morally impossible; but since it has come, peace men, like other good citizens, must leave our government at discretion to deal with it in the usual way of employing, if it can, all the force requisite to put its laws in execution against rebels just as against any other class of criminals. They are criminals, perpetrators of a most comprehensive crime, the very climax and condensation of all crimes; and government, if it be anything more than a name, must have the right, and be imperatively bound, if able, to arrest them in their career, and bring them to condign punishment. It may seem hard; but how far can such culprits deserve our sympathy? The fault is all their own; and at any moment they might, if they would, escape from the evils now upon them by simply returning to their duty. If they will not do this, shall we waste our pity upon them? God himself pardons no sinner while persisting in his wickedness; and are we required to be more indulgent to wrong-doers than the great Father of us all? Let them cease their rebellion; and the loyal North would be ready at once to pour its sympathies and benefactions all over the South.

OUR DOCTRINE.

In every age, truth has suffered, in the hands of its honest advocates, by their lack of clear-sightedness in definitions, and by confounding questions, essentially distinct. The whole range of controversy, political and theological, is marked by this important infirmity. The "Peace question" is no exception.

Hence men who nobly and boldly stand forth the advocates of "Peace on earth," are sometimes *non-resistants*. All honor to their fidelity to convictions of right, even amid loss and peril. They now censure the American Peace Society for not maintaining that our present military strife with the Confederate States is essentially wrong, and should be at once abandoned. We ask

that they concede to us, what we cheerfully concede to them, the credit of honesty of intention, and a candid listening to our reasons.

The doctrine of non-resistance is based on that injunction of our Lord, "*Unto him that smiteth thee on the one cheek, offer also the other; and him that taketh away thy cloak, forbid not to take thy coat also. Give to every man that asketh thee, and of him that taketh away thy goods, ask them not again.*" Luke vi. 29, 30. Or, as his words are recorded by Matthew (v. 39-42), "*Resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also. And whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain. Give to him that asketh thee; and from him that would borrow of thee, turn not away.*"

Now, to derive correctly a rule of action from Holy Scripture, it is necessary to see that we are the persons to whom the rule applies. Rules for parents, are for them only. Rules for a child, are for children only. To make a rule universally binding, it must be shown to apply to man as man at all times, not to a class of men, or a particular time. The injunction of our Lord to the rich young ruler, to sell all that he had; and give it to the poor, is no less plain and positive than that quoted above, but was clearly meant for him only, and not for all rich men, or even all rich young rulers.

Non-resistance was inculcated as the duty and safety of Christians circumstanced as those were whom Christ addressed, and in that regard is as binding now as then. It was a time when there was no government on earth ready to do justice to "Nazarenes." They could have no hope of redress from injury by appealing to the magistrate; much less by forcible resistance. Paul's appeal to Cæsar brought him no security, though he was a Roman citizen; and in the end it resulted in martyrdom. Peter's one sword was an absurd reliance, amid armed bands of official persecutors; and Christ so told him, and moreover that all who resorted to the sword would perish by the sword. He could not have meant this as a universal truth, because it is not so. Thousands resort to the sword, who do not perish by the sword. But it is always true under similar circumstances. Were a solitary man now to resort to his sword against a band of armed robbers, he would only throw away his life.

That man is not made to be non-resistant is a truth so obvious as only to be obscured by confounding non-resistance with peaceableness, which last is a plain, positive, and universal duty. Where, in all nature, has God made any law of non-resistance? What creature is there unprovided with means of defence or flight? Not a few have the power to inflict death on an assailant. To say that man is an exception, because he has received from his Maker no horns, claws, or fangs, is to say that he ought to go naked, because God has given him neither shell, fleece, nor fur. He received power and ingenuity to *make* weapons, even as he received power to make raiment. Moreover, he has ability to make and use just such weapons as accord with the character of his antagonist, from a fly-brush, or mosquito-net, to a musket. With the peaceable he makes use of arguments, and with the violent, force in proportion to the need. The rule to man, as man, is to "live peaceably with all, as far as lies in him : " i. e., as is practicable.

The stoutest believer in the doctrine of non-resistance would not hesitate to rescue his child by force from the hand of an assassin, or his wife from the brutality of a ravisher. Why then could he object to the child and wife defending themselves, if able? Neither the law of Moses nor that of Christ conflicts with the law of Nature. All are divine. Self-preservation is an instinct in every animated being, an absolute universal law. It is to keep the weak from being overpowered by the strong, that man is made social, and civil government is ordained. The prevalence of the doctrine of strict or entire non-resistance would introduce the reign of violence, and banish peace from the earth. A State certainly has the right to preserve itself; and whatever is necessary to that end, it is its right and duty to use.

But, it is replied, we must not do evil that good may come. Very well; so we think. But killing a man who converts himself into a wild beast, and ravens on society, is *not* doing evil. Society has claims upon us, no less certainly than the man of violence. The grandest incentive to crime is confidence of impunity; and its surest check is the certainty of retribution. The Southern States rushed into this conflict under the assurance that Yankees would not fight; and their orators pledged themselves that "a lady's thimble would hold all the blood that would be shed." They believed so. But their people were slow to assume the risk;

and the leaders precipitated hostilities for the avowed reason that this would "fire the Southern heart." The North was ready to argue, and not ready to fight. The South then had the government in their hands during long years of preparation for a forcible revolution; but they resorted to no argument, to no loyal process, for reconstructing the nation. They were resolved on an Southern Oligarchy, with Cuba and Mexico annexed. They were to seize the capital. President Davis was to hold levees in the White House. The country was to be shivered, and slavery and cotton to be supreme.

All nature and the voice of God commanded us to resist. But even then our Chief Magistrate sought only to defend the capital, and called out a handful of men for the purpose, avowing that he was willing that the States that had been admitted into the Union with slavery, should remain as before. The very first proclamation of General M'Clellan assured them that he would suppress every attempt of a slave to recover his freedom. The "Crittenden Compromise" was offered them, and rejected. They were bent on secession, and so remain. They compelled us to fight, or be slaves ourselves.

Let none be surprised at seeing in this periodical repeated declarations of our true position and object. It is sent not to subscribers only, but to ministers and others in various places; in single numbers, and is scattered widely as a tract. The cause demands that we be explicit; and our strictly non-resistant friends and counsellors have a right to know, not only our ground, but our reasons. We bate no tittle of our opposition to war as a mode of settling international controversies, or as an engine of conquest, rapacity, or revenge. The custom is utterly wrong; but civil government we hold to be in its legitimate operation quite distinct from that of the war-system, and deserving not of rebuke and resistance, but of cordial support by good men in the exercise of its right to enact and enforce laws for the general weal.

COLONIAL TAXATION.—Our forefathers knew well what it was to be taxed; and a few facts may suggest why they became so restive under "taxation without representation." During the old French war which broke the power of France on this continent, "the poll-tax in New England was four dollars, the tax on real estate was at the rate of thirty-six dollars on an hundred dollars' valuation, and there was also an excise duty on tea, coffee, wine, rum, and other articles in general use."

HOW TO CLOSE A CIVIL WAR.

SUCH a war, like every other, must sooner or later cease. Men will not, cannot fight forever. Contests, the most obstinate must have an end in some sort of settlement. To this rule the present struggle can be no exception; and as the parties must at length sheathe the sword, and betake themselves to some peaceful mode of adjustment, it becomes a very grave question how this shall be done.

Few now conceive how many difficulties are likely to environ this question; and thoughtful, patriotic men all over the North cannot too soon prepare themselves and the public for its proper solution. Precisely what this solution ought to be or can be, it is not ours to say; but it does come within our province to suggest and press some points that will be found indispensable to any satisfactory or lasting settlement.

Bear in mind, then, that such disputes are seldom, if ever, adjusted without mutual concession. Neither party can expect to gain all its ends; and even the one mainly, if not entirely right, will be obliged to yield or modify some portion of its just demands. It is so in all controversies between nations; and though the present is a case quite different in many important respects, we doubt whether it can be adjusted in any other way. Sooner or later, both parties must make up their minds to some form of compromise; and the sooner they do so, the better for all the interests involved.

We think it clear, moreover, that no settlement can be lasting that shall not be beneficial to both parties. Here, as everywhere else, strict honesty, a sincere regard for each other's welfare, will be found to be the best policy; no other can long meet the exigencies of the case. The same people must continue to inhabit the different sections of our country; and any injustice or intentional injury to one portion, will be sure ere long to work mischief to the whole. Such a settlement must be attempted as shall make it clearly the interest for all to live together under one government as the joint, impartial guardian of their common rights and welfare. No man should be willing to have any portion of our widespread republic intentionally oppressed or permanently injured.

Especially should every idea of retaliation or revenge be care-

fully excluded from the final settlement. True, there has been guilt deserving a gallows a hundred times higher than that of Haman; but in such a case it is vain to think of bringing the chief culprits to condign punishment. They always take good heed to screen themselves; and before you can reach one such wholesale villain, you may have to strike down half a million of his comparative'y innocent dupes and victims. It is pre-eminently so in this case. The chief fault has been with the leaders; while the masses have already suffered enough in all conscience from this suicidal conflict to suffice alike as a penalty and a warning. There should be no need of any official proclamation to assure the millions at the South of a full, universal amnesty; and toward these tools and victims of the rebel leaders should the heart of the whole North go forth in warmest sympathy and compassion.

Nor should we be too severe upon even the leaders in this rebellion. No language can fully express our own conceptions of their wickedness; but, while sitting in judgment upon them, we ought to enter as far as possible into their modes of reasoning on the subject, and see how they attempt to justify themselves for what they have done. They think themselves injured, and honestly believe that they have the same right, in their parlance, to secede from our government that our forefathers had in 1776 to throw off that of England. This example, so sacred with ourselves as well as with them, they plead in full justification of all they have done. We of course deem this a gross perversion; but they do not so regard it; and in order to be perfectly candid, we must put ourselves in their place, and enter as far as we can into their modes of thought and feeling on this whole subject. We grant that no stretch of candor or sympathy can excuse the wholesale, gigantic crimes they have committed; but their training, general habits, and peculiar circumstances serve to explain in part their conduct, and may fairly be allowed to mitigate somewhat the severity of our censures.

For a part of these offences we have ourselves been largely responsible. We have so long allowed slaveholders to rule us, that they had come to claim it as their right, to look down upon us as a class inferior to themselves, and to regard our resistance of such claims as a species of rebellion against an established authority! This hallucination seems to have become general and

chronic among slaveholders; nor have all the manifold proofs they have seen of their waning power in contrast with our own, sufficed to dislodge it from the Southern mind.

Now, any settlement to which we can submit, must be a terrible humiliation to such spirits. True, they richly deserve it all, and doubtless it would do them good; but however this may be, we ought, as a matter of both duty and policy, to be as lenient to the South as we can be consistently with saving the country, and insuring its permanent prosperity. If we can secure these points, namely, the integrity of our territory, the preservation of our government in its essential purity, and the abolition of slavery as having proved itself fatal to the great object for which our forefathers fought in 1776, and adopted our constitution in 1789, we think all loyal men ought to be content, and be willing, if necessary, to concede nearly everything else not indispensable for securing these permanent results.

We trust the time is soon coming to begin this great work of reconciliation. Let the whole loyal North gird themselves in earnest for it just as soon as the sword shall be sheathed, and the government reinstated in its rightful authority over the entire country. The process of healing this great breach will be extremely difficult, and will call for the utmost patience and forbearance, candor, charity, and kindness, alike of the North and the South. God grant that the sword may not be found to have made wounds and festering sores which no moral medication can ever entirely cure!

THE CRIME OF REVOLUTION.

REVOLUTION a crime? Such language must sound strange enough to those who have so long been accustomed to hear it asserted as a right, enjoined as a duty, and eulogized as pre-eminently a virtue and a blessing. Whence this change? We are now meeting the suicidal recoil upon ourselves of those revolutionary principles on which our forefathers acted, and which we have hitherto regarded as self-evidently right. The tables are suddenly turned; and in the school of a stern and bitter experience we are likely to learn some new lessons of wisdom.

We have been led to this train of thought by the perusal of an address by J. P. Thompson, D. D., before the Union League Club of New York, last March; * one of the ablest productions we have ever seen from his gifted pen, and embodying so large an amount of facts and arguments pertinent to the present crisis of our country, that we feel reluctant to criticise, as we think it deserves, the principle which he takes for granted without proving its correctness, *that a people have a right at discretion to resist and overthrow the government over them.* It was on this principle our revolutionary sires acted in 1776; and on the same principle our slave-holding rebels claim to act in their attempt to establish their Confederacy on slavery as its corner-stone. This claim Dr. Thompson endeavors with much force to refute, and to prove that the example of our forefathers affords no sanction or excuse for the Southern rebellion.

The argument is so novel and ingenious that we will give an outline of it. "The right of armed resistance to government is not a naked abstract right, to be invoked at pleasure, but is at best a qualified and conditional right, and can exist only in some extreme conditions of justifying circumstances. To assert a permanent right of revolution against any and every form of political organization, is practically to govern human society by force, or by the dread of force, till the end of time. When a community has reached that high state of political organization in which a free popular government, with all its appropriate institutions, and a constitution duly regulating the administration, and itself amendable by the people, *then the right of revolution ceases from that community, and an armed uprising against such a free, popular, constitutional government, being necessarily without justifying conditions, can never become rightful, but must be always and simply A CRIME.*"

A very clever exposition; but a single fact, strangely overlooked by the orator, dashes it all. *The alleged right of revolution leaves the revolutionists alone to judge for themselves whether they shall resist and overthrow the government over them.* If they say it has in their case failed in its great object of protecting their rights, and promoting their interests, or if they desire for any reason to throw off its authority, and form another government more

* "Revolution against Free Government not a Right but a Crime." New York, No. 26 East Seventeenth Street. 1864.

to their liking, they have, on this revolutionary principle, the right to do so at their own discretion. Now, our Southern rebels take just this ground; and, though it be very clearly a glaring and atrocious abuse of a discretionary right, we must admit that the principle does justify the terrible conclusion to which they come. The alleged right of revolution is a two-edged sword, capable of cutting both ways, and may be used, as we see in this case, in favor of slavery as well as of freedom, alike in behalf of a democracy, an oligarchy, or a monarchy. If a people, without responsibility to man or God, have the right at discretion to throw off one form of government by violence, they may another, and exchange a popular government for an irresponsible despotism.

The believers in this right, however, allow it only in the interest of such government as they like. Dr. Thompson insists, that "there is a right of revolution," but says, —

"The divine warrant for civil government cannot be pressed into sanctioning tyranny, and forbidding the redress of wrongs by an appeal to arms. The right of resistance is in its place as sacred as the duty of obedience. The Bible, speaking in popular language, and not with the formal exactness of philosophical definition, lays down general truths broadly, without those qualifications and exceptions that specific cases would fairly authorize. The doctrine so clearly taught, that Christianity is not to organize a crusade against civil government, but should uphold the State as a necessary and a divine institution, proceeds on the assumption that the government, in the main, answers the purpose of its institution, as the protector of the good and a terror to the evil. If, however, by injustice and violence, the government becomes an unbearable oppression; there rests in *Society*, which gives form to the State, an ultimate right to redress itself by overturning or otherwise changing the falsified government in the interest of a true and righteous ordering of the State.

We are liable, however, to be misled by the term '*Right of Revolution*,' as if this were a reserved right lodged somewhere within the political structure itself. But a revolution is the overturning of the established order of things with a view to establish a new order in its stead; and therefore, in strict logic, there can be no right of revolution latent within an existing political system. What we *intend* (mean) by the right of revolution may be better defined as the moral DUTY OF RESISTANCE to tyranny and wrong, even to the extent of breaking up the whole established order of things; not our right, then, as citizens or subjects, but our duty as men. And this duty, when the case arises, we must be ready to perform, or, for example's sake, to perish in the attempt. But as a duty it must be capable of being defended upon moral grounds, defended before God, defended in history, defended by its

motives and results. To justify a revolution, therefore, these three things must concur:—1. The movement must be founded in justice, and must aim at a result which in itself will be right and good;—2. The evils against which it protests must be grievous and unbearable wrongs;—3. The revolution should appear to be the only, and, at the same time, a feasible mode of redress.

Bad government, at the worst, may be better than anarchy; and such are the horrors of civil war, that no community or portion of the body politic can be justified in invoking these, except as a last resort against desperate wrongs, and with a reasonable hope of success in the attempt to win justice by the sword. While, therefore, the right of revolution may be valid for Italy against Austria, or for Poland against Russia, it is impossible that a case should ever arise in which an armed insurrection against a *constitutional free government* would be justifiable. In such a government the Constitution stands ever to restrain, or, if need be, to judge the administrators of government in matters of alleged injustice, and the acting government itself can be changed at limited periods. All wrongs can be redressed, all wrong-doers can be removed in time by peaceable methods; and, at the most, nothing could be gained by insurrection but a change of rulers, which can be gained without it; and an insurrection could give no better security for the character of those it raised to power than would a peaceable election.

The right of revolution, then, is not absolute, but conditional. Only certain rare exigencies and combinations can bring it into being, and without these, clearly and forcibly existing, it is a crime to attempt a revolution. So great are the calamities of civil war, so frightful the horrors of anarchy, that the overturning of government may be rightfully attempted only for the ends of justice. There must be in it that which appeals to the moral sense of men as just and right, to warrant a movement that may deluge the land with blood and shroud every house in mourning. Even with right upon its side, the movement will not be justified by mere annoyances, discomforts, or occasional burdens and grievances that affect not the core of society, and that time might relieve or allay, but by accumulated and unbearable wrongs. And even then the revolution must have a fair prospect of success to warrant the fearful responsibility of attempting it. 'The evils,' as Lord Brougham says, 'must have become intolerable before the resistance is to be attempted. The parties whose rights are invaded, must first exhaust every peaceful and orderly and lawful means of obtaining redress. An insurrection is only to be justified by the necessity which leaves no alternative; and the probability of success is to be weighed, in order that a hopeless attempt may not involve the community in distress and confusion.'"

The practical conclusion from all this would seem to be, that it is right, if feasible and probably successful, to rebel against a government that we think "unbearable," but wrong against one which we regard as wise and beneficent! Can we find in this anything that deserves the name of principle?

We have never been satisfied with the popular theory of the Right of Revolution; but, likely to play so important a part in the future history of the world, it deserves far more thorough discussion than it has yet received. We dismiss it for the present with a few hints for the thoughtful:—

1. This alleged right of revolution receives from the Bible no countenance, but direct and pointed rebuke, alike in the Old Testament and the New. Under the Theocracy the idea would have been palpably absurd; and the teachings of Christ and his apostles clearly and unquestionably forbid it. Rom. xiii. 1-7; 1. Tim. ii. 1-3; Titus iii. 1; 1. Pet. ii. 13; 2. Pet. ii. 9, 10, 17; Matt. xxii. 21. We challenge you to show us in all the Bible a solitary trace of this so-called "sacred right of revolution."

2. There is nothing in the example of Christ, his apostles, or the early Christians to justify or suggest any such claim. It is plainly the growth of later times; as a distinct, well-defined theory, it is scarce three centuries old, if it can be traced back as far even as the age of Cromwell.

3. No government does or safely can permit to its own subjects the right of armed revolution. It would be a practical contradiction, a species of suicide. Our own government, though itself a result of such a revolution, has from the first frowned, as it must in order to live, upon the very principle that gave it birth. In four years after the peace of 1783, Massachusetts had to put its foot upon a rebellion that had more urgent personal reasons than that of 1776.

4. This theory of revolution is fatal to the stability and permanency of all government. No government can live that recognizes in practice this right; and even our rebels were obliged in self-defence to repudiate it just as soon as theirs began its regular operations.

5. Since the adoption of this theory by political philosophers and reformers, it has been used as a cloak to cover nearly all sorts of resistance to government, whether bad or good. In our country, every rebellion or insurrection, such as that of Shay's in Massachusetts, the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania, the Dorr Rebellion in R. I., and now the Slavemongers' Rebellion, have all attempted to screen themselves under the example of our forefathers in 1776.

6. Most attempts to overthrow or change government by violence have proved disastrous failures, the remedy worse than the disease. The history of Christendom for the last seventy years has been crimsoned with the blood of such revolutions; but, with the exception of our own case, has a single one become decidedly and permanently successful? Yet in these revolutions there may have been sacrificed thrice as many lives as there were inhabitants in our country at the time of our Revolution.

7. After all, there is good reason to presume that, in most cases, nearly all the benefits sought by violent revolution, might have been secured in time by peaceful means rightfully and persistently used. In this thought there is a world of meaning; but most people lack the patience, self-restraint, and forecast requisite to reap all its fruits.

8. Even of a successful revolution the chief benefits will generally be found to be due to other causes than the sword that won the political revolution; a most pregnant truth, the full import and bearings of which it would take volumes to illustrate in the case of our own Revolution of 1776.

HOW WAR AVENGES INSULTS. — War is declared to revenge an insult. An armed ship approaches one of equal force, which hoists the flag of the declared enemy. In both ships, the Bibles, if the sailors have any, are bundled up in the hammocks, and stowed away in the nettings, to stop the enemy's shot. All thought of the holy precepts contained in them is suspended. The only thought is to maim, kill, burn, sink, and destroy. The chaplains on board each vessel resort to their respective stations, to pray for victory to the same God, through the intercession of the same Redeemer. Broadside after broadside is poured into the contending ships. The scuppers run with blood. Groans, screams, curses, blasphemy, are heard above the roar of cannon and the rattle of musketry. The ships grapple, timbers crack, spars are shivered, the masts fall on the reeling vessels, unheded by the crew, except they crush some of them to pieces. Their only object is to thrust their pikes through the hearts of their opponents. At length victory is achieved, or perhaps both ships sink to the bottom, carrying down the killed and wounded, victors and vanquished. Or, perhaps, one ship is set on fire, and the crew are driven by the flames to the extreme parts of the vessel. In some such instances, men have been known, as at the victory of Trafalgar, to blow out their own brains, or jump overboard, to prevent their being burnt alive, or swallow immense quantities of ardent spirits to make them insensible to their sufferings. At length the fire reaches the magazine, a tremendous explosion ensues, and the other ship, if not destroyed, is covered with mangled limbs and pieces of the wreck. These and their own dead they throw overboard, and then indulge in revelling; death,

hell, and judgment are mocked ; and, with joyful hearts, they bear away for home to boast of their victory, and tell how many of the enemy they have sent to endless perdition ; and a whole Christian nation gives itself up to diabolical joy and rejoicing ! Pictures of the battle are painted and engraved, and scattered round by hundreds ; the enemy are caricatured, ridiculed, and insulted ; and pride, boasting, and self-confidence everywhere prevail. Does not this injure the moral feelings of a nation ? ‘ Ah ! but we have had our revenge ; and revenge is sweet.’ Yes, it is sweet to a savage ; and a nation becomes savage when indulging in it. — *William Ladd.*

EMANCIPATION IN RUSSIA ;

OR, A CHRISTIAN WAY OF SECURING POLITICAL RIGHTS AND PROGRESS.

ONE of the chief apologies for war is its alleged necessity in winning and preserving liberty for the masses. Now and then it does *seem*, as in the case of our own Revolution, to gain this object ; but in most cases it has served only to make their condition worse. The best and only *Christian* method is to use legal, peaceful means alone for the attainment of popular rights, and wait without violence until they can be secured in this way. Had the friends of freedom for the last century acted uniformly on this principle, they would not only have saved oceans of blood, but would sooner have gained the blessings of liberty and good government. War, indeed, is the enemy, and peace the guardian of popular rights. There are exceptions to this rule ; but they are such as only prove the rule itself.

Take the case of Russia. Had her people drawn the sword to gain their rights, how many ages might they have waited, and through what seas of blood and misery waded, to obtain what is now secured by peaceful means ! How many benign results are likely to come in due time from this *Christian* way of securing *popular rights* !

“ I recently spent,” says Rev. James Long, “ five months in Russia, mainly to gain information from the best sources on the facts connected with the serf emancipation movement, and I have consulted the enemies as well as the friends of the measure, English and German residents, as well as Russians. The leaders afforded me every facility of access to official documents ; and I visited estates in various parts of Russia to make further inquiries into the local working of the measure.

Whatever may be thought of the conduct of Russia toward Poland in carrying on the present war, I trust that due credit may be given to the present emperor and the Russian liberals for this noble act of serf emancipation. They had a hard battle to fight against the reactionary party, who denounced emancipation as socialism, for they knew that it must gradually introduce in its train a host of other reforms. They prophesied that anarchy and bloodshed must ensue ; but the emperor gave no heed, and was prepared to risk his crown and his life in order to free the peasant.

Serf emancipation is an accomplished fact. Twenty-three millions of an intelligent, active peasantry have been by it raised from the degradation of being mere chattels, things for sale. The intellect and social energies of the serfs, which had been frozen up for centuries, are now set free; and this great social change has been effected within two years, in spite of the formidable opposition of the Russian nobility. The fiat of one man, supported by a few choice spirits, has accomplished all this. The revolution has been a bloodless one; no social disorganization has resulted; and even some of its bitterest opponents now admit that, as the operation had to be performed sometime, it was as well to do it at once, and are learning to adapt themselves to the new order of things.

1. This great event gives a powerful impetus to the general cause of anti-slavery. It took many years, and the expenditure of £20,000,000 sterling, to emancipate 800,000 slaves in the West Indies. American slavery has lasted a long time, and is still a fearful blot; but in Russia we have, in the short space of two years, the emancipation of 23,000,000 of a fine race of peasants. The influence and example of these emancipated serfs will operate on the world, and will show that, while so beneficial a revolution has taken place successfully in Russia, other countries may learn to 'go and do likewise.' The serfs have shown, by their peaceable demeanor, and by avoiding any violent excess, that they knew how to appreciate their newly-acquired liberty.

2. The friends of constitutional government have also reason to rejoice in serf emancipation, as forming the first instalment of liberal institutions in Russia. Even the late Emperor Nicholas was convinced that emancipation was necessary; but he would not give it, knowing that it would involve reform in all other departments of the State. As serf emancipation included municipal institutions for the peasantry, a constitution for all Russia follows as a corollary; and I found, among all intelligent Russians, the full conviction that a constitution must naturally come in a few years; that, as municipal constitutions grow out of emancipation, so provincial assemblies are the result of municipal freedom, and a constitution will be the fruit of provincial assemblies. These steps are now being taken.

3. Municipal institutions for all Russia are the certain result. I have been delighted to see how the peasantry, by means of the commune, or village elective council, regulate their own affairs, elect the chief of each village and have their regular village meetings. This municipal liberty granted to peasants cannot be limited to them; there will soon be municipal bodies in every town in Russia. Moscow and Petersburg, since the last two years, have been granted mayors, elected by the citizens, without the control of government, and also provincial assemblies. As the next step, what has been conceded to the peasants cannot be denied to the merchant and noble. These municipal institutions are training-schools for the peasantry; they enable them to resist the oppression of the noble and the government employees; they also break the force of that centralization which has been such a curse to Russia; and they are nuclei to protect the weak against the venal police of Russia; for in the peasants' court, oral evidence, summary decision, and publicity form the rules of proceeding, while a simple and cheap code of law is administered.

4. An honorary magistracy and municipal institutions serve as training-schools for justices of the peace, a class who may exercise an important influence in diminishing what has been admitted to be the great curse of Russia, viz., the venality of ill-paid employees and bribery. To carry out the Emancipation Act, fifteen hundred unpaid justices of the peace were nominated by government. The administration of these men, selected for their

character and public spirit, has generally given satisfaction; and it is intended that they shall be continued to discharge similar duties to those of country magistrates in England.

5. The cause of Education is, moreover, identified with Emancipation. Already, within two years, more than 8,000 new schools have sprung into existence through individual efforts among the peasantry, and they are rapidly on the increase. The peasant is anxious to be able to read the laws by which he is governed; and the elevation of his social position through emancipation gives him the means as well as the inclination to learn to read. The example of peasant elevation in other parts of Europe confirms this. In Russia, before emancipation, there was scarcely a day-school among the peasantry; but these 8,000 schools have arisen spontaneously from the wish of the peasants, aided by the clergy and gentry. The government has spent nothing on them. The Emperor Nicholas allowed only colleges and universities, and that to a very limited degree; serf emancipation inaugurates the education of the masses.

6. Religious progress, too, is deeply connected with an enlightened and independent peasantry, who will not be the victims of superstition or priestcraft. Religion follows in the train of civil liberty. With the fall of feudal tyranny, priestly exactions and domination must cease. Many Russians have assured me that, since emancipation, a great desire has sprung up in various quarters among the peasantry to read the Scriptures, and they show their interest by purchasing copies, while, to meet the new state of things, the Greek Church is publishing the Russian New Testament at 6d. a copy.

7. The cause of Peace, also, is likely to be served. Under serfdom the military life benefited the peasants, as becoming a soldier conferred freedom on them; but the peasant now has a *status* and a stake in the country, and is therefore not so inclined to become 'food for powder.' Serf emancipation, by pushing on internal reform, is calculated to withdraw the attention from objects of aggression, and point out to Russia that internal development, and not foreign conquest, is her true strength. The Russian peasant sympathizes with this, as he has secured to him by emancipation the possession of land, the great *desideratum* with the masses in Russia. The grand scope of her ambition, a *proletariat* peasantry, supplies ample material for war. The Russian peasant, therefore, will naturally prefer agriculture to war, while the elevation of the social position, in creating new wants, will give a fresh impulse to trade, one of the great antagonists of war.

8. The effects in Asia are likely to be great. Already, through the length and breadth of India, has this great measure received the warmest sympathy from natives of all classes, who view it as a sign of great good to them that Russian influence in Central and Northern Asia will be on the side of an emancipation policy, as English influence has been in India. The Slavonic and Anglo-Saxon races will thus co-operate as anti-slavery advocates through Asia.

9. The Russian nobility have long been noted for absenteeism, extravagant luxury, and false varnish. Serfdom tempted them to be tyrants, and afforded full scope for all depraved propensities. The troops of servants kept in idleness enervated the master, while the power he had of deporting them to Siberia, or inflicting torture, produced a hardening effect on his heart. To keep up a life of luxury, he had to speculate in the public offices. There are nearly three hundred thousand nobles in Russia. Emancipation is already leading many of them to reside on their estates, and consequently to lead simple lives, and identify themselves more with the welfare of the country.

10. The social condition of the peasant, moreover, is being improved. The anxiety of the peasant to purchase land, so strongly marked in France,

is showing itself also in Russia, thus leading to habits of industry in order to procure the means of making the purchase. Indolence, the natural fruit of serfdom, is giving way to the encouragement of industry. One million peasants have bought the land on which they were formerly located, borrowing the money from government. The price of land is rising all through Russia, owing to the peasants renting or hiring it to a far greater extent than formerly, though the enemies of emancipation said the peasants would be too indolent to cultivate the land. Money is no longer hidden in earthen pots in the ground, or in the wall, through fear of the steward. The peasants' houses in some quarters are exhibiting a greater appearance of comfort, and providing more rooms, instead of crowding, as formerly, twenty-five into a room. More houses have been built within the last two years than during the previous six.

In conclusion, peace has been generally maintained. During the carrying out of this measure, there were only two cases of revolt, caused by a rumor spread among ten thousand peasants that the emperor had ordered no more money to be paid. I myself resided for a time in a district one hundred miles south of Moscow, and the proprietor never locked his door at night. Nowhere in Russia did I hear any expressions uttered of apprehensions of social disorganization or riot."

Some of the results here predicted as probable, are already taking place. Nicholas foresaw that constitutional government must in time follow from the emancipation of serfs; and in January, 1864, the Emperor Alexander issued an ukase for the organization of provincial and district representatives for the greater part of Russia, an event from which must date the gradual but sure rise and final establishment of constitutional government for that whole vast empire. If secured without bloodshed, how full of hope for the rights and welfare of the masses all the world over! How incomparably better than the war method of seeking a like result!

EMANCIPATION IN POLAND. — An ukase of the Czar of Russia has decreed a thorough emancipation of the peasants of Poland. It declared that on the 15th of April every peasant in the kingdom should become the possessor of all the land and the buildings upon it which he holds from his feudal superior, or the lord of the manor, and cultivates. On the same day he is exempted from the personal services which he has hitherto owed to the owner of the land. For these privileges he is to pay a small sum to the former proprietors as a compensation for the losses they may have incurred by the change.

This is a complete emancipation from serfdom and feudal claims. The insurrection undoubtedly had something to do with its sweeping character, as the nobles are said to be responsible for the present rebellion. This measure will tend to detach the peasants from the revolutionary party. It is thus politic on the part of the government; but still the essential humanity of the act, and the vast benefits ultimately to flow from it, cannot be overlooked or overestimated.

REBEL TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.

REPORT OF A COMMITTEE OF THE SANITARY COMMISSION.

We gave in our last the substance of the report made by a joint committee of the two Houses of Congress on some of our prisoners returned by the rebel authorities ; but before this action was taken, the United States Sanitary Commission had appointed a special committee, composed of six eminent, well-known men, at the head of whom was the venerable Valentine Mott, M. D., LL. D., New York, with two other distinguished physicians, Judge Hare of Philadelphia, and others of like character, "a Commission for ascertaining, by inquiry and investigation, the true physical condition of prisoners, recently discharged, by exchange, from confinement at Richmond and elsewhere within the rebel lines ; whether they did in fact, during such confinement, suffer materially for want of food, or from its defective quality, or from other privations or sources of disease ; and whether their privations and sufferings were designedly inflicted on them by military or other authority of the rebel government, or were due to causes which such authorities could not control." They were "requested to visit such camps of paroled or discharged prisoners as may be accessible to them, and to take, in writing, the depositions of so many of such prisoners as may enable them to arrive at accurate results." This Commission, after three months of investigation, submitted the result in their "*Narrative of Privations and Sufferings of U. S. Officers and Soldiers while Prisoners of War in the Hands of the Rebel Authorities, with an Appendix containing the Testimony.*" The substance of this document, prepared with the utmost care and conscientiousness possible, and as worthy of confidence as any human testimony could well be, we now copy as a truthful, most revolting exposure of the men with whom our government has to deal, and of the savage, well-nigh fiendish means they have employed to compass their ends.

OUTLINE OF FACTS.—Ever since the outbreak of the war, the country has been full of painful rumors concerning the treatment of prisoners of war by the rebel authorities. Every returned prisoner has brought his tale of suffering, astonishing his neighborhood with an account of cruelty and barbarity on the part of the enemy. Innumerable narratives have also been published and widely circulated. The public have been made very uneasy by these reports. One class have accepted them as true ; another have felt them to be exaggerated ; still another have pronounced them as wholly false, fictions purposely made and scattered abroad

to inflame the people against their enemies, and doing great injustice to the South. On the other hand, rumors have crossed the border of an outraged public sentiment in the South, precisely on the same account, reports abounding there of cruelty and barbarity to the rebel soldiers in our hands. It has been repeatedly announced that whatever restrictions or privations have been suffered by Northern men in Southern prisons were in retaliation for these

But these early days of ill-preparation have long since passed away. The war has now lasted more than three years. Both sections have become accustomed to it, and are familiarized with the ideas, habits, and laws of military life. The passionate fury of one side, and the patriotic indignation of the other, have had time to settle down, at least so far as to accept this condition, and make every civilized provision known in modern warfare for the mitigation of its horrors and inhumanity. And yet the painful rumors, so rife at the outbreak of the war, instead of subsiding with its early tumult, have lately increased to an extent which has seriously alarmed and aroused the public. The tales of cruelty and suffering have become even more heart-rending. Months ago we heard reports that our men were starving and freezing in the Southern prisons. In the late temporary resumption of the cartel, boat-loads of half-naked living skeletons, foul with filth, and covered with vermin, were said to have been landed at Annapolis and Baltimore. Men, diseased and dying, or physically ruined for life, unfit for further military service, had been received in the stead of soldiers of the enemy returned in good condition, and who had been well fed, well clothed, and well sheltered by our Government during their captivity.

But many reasons were circulated to account for such a difference. It was alleged that these emaciated men were the victims of camp dysentery, or similar distempers, and of food which, however good in quality, and sufficient in quantity, was averse to the Northern constitution. Again it was alleged that the rebel army was itself suffering for want of food and clothing, and that the very guards to these prisoners had fared no better. There were many among us who were willing to credit any statement which would mitigate or excuse the infamy of permitting such a condition of things. For the sake of humanity and the American name, they hoped that the worst could not be proved. But there were others to whom the proof was sufficient, and who were convinced that the whole was a horrible and predetermined scheme, contrived for the purpose of depleting our armies, and discouraging our soldiers.

The attention of Congress was roused, and a committee appointed; but before the result of their inquiries was known, the United States Sanitary Commission determined to make an independent investigation, and such a one as would, if possible, put the question at rest on all points upon which the public mind was divided or unsettled, and furnish information so full, and so direct from original sources, that every one could arrive at a just conclusion.

In entering upon their duties, the Commissioners had no other wish than to ascertain the truth, and to report the facts as they were. For

this they endeavored to collect all the evidence within their reach, and to hear and record all that could be said on every side of the subject. They were accompanied by a United States Commissioner, and in every case the testimony was taken on oath or affirmation before him, or, in his absence, before other officers equally empowered. The mass of evidence was collected during a period of several months; yet many graphic and pathetic minor details are omitted which escaped, or could not enter, the formal record, but sometimes were noted down by those who were present. Besides this, the Commissioners were witnesses themselves, and saw and heard enough to overwhelm them with astonishment, and remove the last doubt from their minds.

The Commissioners, at the very outset, were brought face to face with the returned captives. They first visited the two extensive hospitals in Annapolis, occupying the spacious buildings and grounds of the Naval Academy and St. John's College, where over three thousand of them had been brought in every conceivable form of suffering, direct from the Libby Prison, Belle Isle, and two or three other Southern military stations. They also visited the West's Buildings Hospital and the Jarvis General Hospital in Baltimore, where several hundreds had been brought, in an equally dreadful condition. The photographs of these diseased and emaciated men, since so widely circulated, painful as they are, do not, in many respects, adequately represent the sufferers as they then appeared. The best picture cannot convey the reality, nor create that startling and sickening sensation which is felt at the sight of a human skeleton, with the skin drawn tightly over its skull and ribs and limbs, weakly turning and moving itself, as if still a living man! And this was the reality. The same spectacle was often repeated as the visitors went from bed to bed, from ward to ward, and from tent to tent. The bony faces stared out above the counterpanes, watching the passer-by dreamily and indifferently. Here and there lay one, half over upon his face, with his bed clothing only partially dragged over him, deep in sleep or stupor. It was strange to find a Hercules in bones; to see the immense hands and feet of a young giant pendent from limbs thinner than a child's, and that could be spanned with the thumb and finger! Equally strange and horrible was it to come upon a man, in one part shrivelled to nothing but skin and bone, and in another swollen and misshapen with dropsy or scurvy; or further on, when the surgeon lifted the covering from a poor half-unconscious creature, to see the stomach fallen in, deep as a basin, and the bone protruding through a blood-red hole on the hip. Of course these were the worst cases among those that still survived. Hundreds like them, and worse even than they, had been already laid in their graves. The remainder were in every gradation of physical condition.

But, however unlike and various the cases were, there was one singular element shared by all. It was the peculiar look in every face. The man in Baltimore looked like the man just left in Annapolis. Perhaps it was partly the shaven head, the sunken eyes, the drawn mouth, the pinched and pallid features; partly, doubtless, the grayish, blighted skin, rough to the touch as the skin of a shark. But there was some-

thing else: an expression in the eyes and countenance of desolateness, a look of settled melancholy, as if they had passed through a period of physical and mental agony which had driven the smile from their faces forever. All had it, — the man that was met on the grounds, and the man that could not yet raise his head from the pillow.

TREATMENT OF PRISONERS REQUIRED BY CIVILIZED WARFARE. — In these days of civilized warfare, the cowardly and barbarous usage no longer prevails of maltreating prisoners of war; but the moment a conflict is over, every sentiment of Christianity and humanity rises to mitigate the bloody horrors of the field. The distinction of friend and enemy is no longer known. The surgeon, with the high sense of professional duty in which he has been educated, goes equally to all. The prisoners taken are not thrown into dungeons, nor shut up in jails, but put into barracks. They are made as comfortable as the arrangements necessary for their safe-keeping will permit. They are sheltered, warmed, fed, and clothed, in all necessary respects as well as the soldiers that vanquished and captured them. They become, for the time being, part of the military family of their enemy, and are made subject to the same sanitary and other regulations. Their barracks are never overcrowded; sufficient area is allowed for exercise and fresh air; so much bathing is permitted, and even insisted upon, for the sake of cleanliness; their food is in every respect the same as that consumed by the army within whose lines they are; their clothing is all they need. Such a thing as robbery of their private property is unknown, or never tolerated if known. When sickness overtakes the prisoner, he is removed to the hospital, taken from his bunk and placed upon a bed, and then, whatever distinction existed before, vanishes entirely; every kindness and attention, every remedy and delicacy that a sufferer needs, is freely and generously given. Such is the high principle and noble usage which prevails in modern warfare. The perfection of its arrangements is a matter of pride and honor among soldiers, and the proper boast of every Christian government.

ROBBERING OF PRISONERS. — The first fact developed by the testimony of both officers and privates is that prisoners were almost invariably robbed of everything valuable in their possession, sometimes on the field at the instant of capture, sometimes by the prison authorities in a "quasi official way," with the promise of return when exchanged or paroled, but which promise was never fulfilled. This robbery amounted often to a stripping of the person of even necessary clothing. Blankets and overcoats were almost always taken, and sometimes other articles, in which case damaged or ragged ones were returned in their stead.

THEIR PRISON, AND TREATMENT THERE. — This preliminary over, the captives were taken to prison. The Libby, which is best known, is generally understood to be the officers' prison. It is a row of brick buildings, three stories high, situated on the canal, and overlooking the James River, and was formerly a tobacco warehouse. The rooms are one hundred feet long by forty feet broad. In six of these rooms, twelve hundred United States officers, of all grades, from the brigadier-general to the second lieutenant, were confined for many months; and this was all the

space that was allowed them in which to cook, eat, wash, sleep, and take exercise! It seems incredible. Ten feet by two were all that could be claimed by each man, hardly enough to measure his length upon; and even this was further abridged by the room necessarily taken for cooking, washing, and clothes-drying. At one time they were not allowed the use of benches, chairs, or stools, nor even to fold their blankets and sit upon them, but those who would rest were obliged to huddle on their haunches, as one of them expresses it, "like so many slaves on the middle passage." After a while this severe restriction was removed, and they were allowed to make chairs and stools for themselves out of the barrels and boxes which they had received from the North.

They were overrun with vermin in spite of every precaution and constant ablutions. Their blankets, which averaged one to a man, and sometimes less, had not been issued by the rebels, but had been procured in different ways,—sometimes by purchase, sometimes through the Sanitary Commission. The prisoners had to help themselves from the refuse accumulation of these articles, which, having seen similar service before, were often ragged and full of vermin. In these they wrapped themselves at night, and lay down on the hard plank floor in close and stifling contact, "wormed and dovetailed together," as one of them testifies, "like fish in a basket." The floors were recklessly washed late in the afternoon, and were therefore damp and dangerous to sleep upon. Almost every one had a cough in consequence. There were seventy-five windows in these rooms, all more or less broken, and in winter the cold was intense. Two stoves in a room, with two or three armfuls of wood to each, did not prove sufficient, under this exposure, to keep them warm.

It appears that the hideous discomfort was never lessened by any variation in the rules, but often increased. It was among the rules that no one should go within three feet of the windows,—a rule which seems to be general in all Southern prisons of this character, and which their frequently crowded state rendered peculiarly severe and difficult to observe. The manner in which the regulation was enforced was unjustifiably and wantonly cruel. Often by accident, or unconsciously, an officer would go near a window, and be instantly shot at without warning. The reports of the sentry's musket were heard almost every day, and frequently a prisoner fell, either killed or wounded. It was even worse with a large prison near by, called the Pemberton Buildings, which was crowded with enlisted men. The firing into its windows was a still more common occurrence. The officers had heard as many as fourteen shots fired on a single day. They could see the guards watching for an opportunity to fire; and often, after one of them had discharged his musket, the sergeant of the guard would appear at the door, bringing out a dead or wounded soldier.

So careless as this were the authorities as to the effect of placing their prisoners in the power of the rude and brutal soldiery on guard. It became a matter of sport among the latter "to shoot a Yankee." They were seen in attitudes of expectation, with guns cocked, watching the windows for a shot. But sometimes they did not even wait for an in-

fraction of the rule. Lieutenant Hammond was shot at while in a small boarded enclosure, where there was no window, only an aperture between the boards. The guard caught sight of his hat through this opening, and aiming lower, so as to reach his heart, fired. A nail turned the bullet upward, and it passed through his ear and hat-rim. The officers reported the outrage to Major Turner, the inspector, who merely replied, "The boys are in want of practice." The sentry said, "He had made a bet that he would kill a damned Yankee before he came off guard." No notice was taken of the occurrence by the authorities. The brutal fellow encouraged by this impunity, tried to murder another officer in the same way. Lieutenant Huggins was standing eight feet from the window in the second story. The top of his hat was visible to the guard, who left his beat, went out into the street, took deliberate aim, and fired. Providentially, he was seen; a warning cry was uttered, Huggins stooped, and the bullet buried itself in the beams above.

Very much the same thing is mentioned as happening in the prison buildings at Danville. A man was standing by the window conversing with Private Wilcox. At his feet was the place where he slept at night, close under the window, and where his blanket lay rolled up. He had his hand on the casement. The guard must have seen his shadow, for he was invisible from the regular beat, and went out twenty feet to get a shot at him. Before the poor fellow could be warned, the bullet entered his forehead, and he fell dead at the feet of his companion. Almost every prisoner had such an incident to tell. Some had been shot at themselves a number of times, and had seen others repeatedly fired upon. One testified that he had seen five hundred men shot at.

The same brutal style of "sporting" while on guard seems to have prevailed wherever the license was given by this cruel and unnecessary rule. Captain Calhoun mentions that while he and his companions were on their way to Richmond from Northeastern Georgia, where they were captured, they stopped at Atlanta, and just before they started, a sick soldier, who was near the line beyond which the prisoners were not allowed to go, put his hand over to pluck a bunch of leaves that were not a foot from the boundary. The instant he did so, the guard caught sight of him, fired, and killed him.

THEIR RATIONS. — But there were cruelties worse than these, because less the result of impulse and recklessness, and because deliberately done. The daily ration in the officers' quarter of Libby Prison was a small loaf of bread about the size of a man's fist, made of Indian meal. Sometimes it was made from wheat flour, but of variable quality. It weighed a little over half a pound. With it was given a piece of beef weighing two ounces. But it is not easy to describe this ration, it was so irregular in kind, quality, and amount. Its general character is vividly indicated by a remark made in conversation, by one of the officers: "I would gladly," said he, with emphatic sincerity, — "*gladly* have preferred the horse-feed in my father's stable."

During the summer and the early part of the fall, the ration seems to have been less insufficient, and less repulsive than it afterwards became.

At no period was it enough to support life, at least in health, for a length of time; but, however inadequate, it was not so to such a remarkable degree as to produce the evils which afterward ensued. It was about the middle of last autumn that this process of slow starvation became intolerable, injurious, and cruel to the extent referred to. The corn bread began to be of the roughest and coarsest description. Portions of the cob and husk were often found ground in with the meal. The crust was so thick and hard that the prisoners called it iron-clad. To render the bread eatable, they grated it, and made mush of it, but the crust they could not grate. Now and then, after long intervals, often of many weeks, a little meat was given them, perhaps two or three mouthfuls. At a later period, they received a pint of black peas, with some vinegar, every week. The peas were often full of worms, or maggots in a chrysalis state, which, when they made soup, floated on the surface. Those who were entirely dependent on the prison fare, and who had no friends at the North to send them boxes of food, began to suffer the horrible agony of craving food, and feeling themselves day by day losing strength. Dreams and delusions began to distract their minds. Although many were relieved through the generosity of their more favored fellow-prisoners, yet the supply from this source was, of course, inadequate. Captain Calhoun speaks of suffering "a burning sensation on the inside, with a general failing in strength. I grew so foolish in my mind that I used to blame myself for not eating more when at home. The subject of food engrossed my entire thoughts. Captain Stevens, having received a box from home, sat down and ate to excess, and died a few hours afterwards. A man had a piece of ham which I looked at for hours, and would have stolen if I had had a chance."

Shortly after this general diminution of rations, in the month of January last, the boxes, which before had been regularly delivered, and in good order, were withheld. No reason was given. Three hundred arrived every week, and were received by Colonel Ould, Commissioner of Exchange, but, instead of being distributed, were retained, and piled up in warehouses near by, and in full sight of the tantalized and hungry captives. Three thousand were there when Lieutenant-Colonel Farnsworth came away. There was some show of delivery, but in a manner especially heartless. Five or six of the boxes were given during the week. The eager prisoner, expectant perhaps of a wife's or mother's thoughtful provision for him, was called to the door and ordered to spread his blanket, when the open cans, whether containing preserved fruits, condensed milk, tobacco, vegetables, or meats, were thrown promiscuously together, and often ruined by the mingling. These boxes sometimes contained clothing, as well as food, and their contents were frequently appropriated by the prison officials. Lieutenant McGinnis recognized his own home-suit of citizen's clothes on one of them, pointing out his name on the watch-pocket. The officers were permitted to send out and buy articles at extravagant prices, and would find the clothes, stationery, hams, and butter which they had purchased, bearing the marks of the Sanitary Commission. In one instance, this constant thievery became an unexpected advantage

to the inmates. After the famous "tunnelling out," by which so many effected their escape, the guards confessed that they had seen the fugitives, but supposed that they were their own men stealing the boxes! The tunnel, after running under the street, had its outlet near where the boxes were piled up.

All through the winter and late into the spring was this suffering, chiefly from hunger, prolonged. Surgeon Ferguson, who was confined there at that time, gives a most painful picture of what he saw. "No one can appreciate, without experience, the condition of the officers in the prison during the twelve days of my stay. Their faces were pinched with hunger. I have seen an officer standing by the window, gnawing a bone like a dog. I asked him, 'What do you do it for?' His reply was, 'It will help fill up.' They were constantly complaining of hunger; there was a sad and insatiable expression of face impossible to describe."

For offences, whether trivial or serious, the prisoners were consigned to cells beneath the prison, the walls of which were damp, green, and slimy. These apartments were never warmed, and often so crowded that some were obliged to stand up all night. It was in these dungeons that the hostages were placed. But the inhumanity was not confined to the living. It extended even to the disposal of the dead. The bodies were placed in the cellar, to which the animals of the street had access, and very often were partly devoured by hogs, dogs, and rats. The officers had the curiosity to mark the coffins in which they were carried off, to find out whether they were buried in them. But they proved to be only vehicles for bearing them away, returning a score of times for others.

At the time Kilpatrick made his nearly successful raid on Richmond, the city was thrown into a panic by his approach, and the prison officials deliberately prepared — so the story runs — a more expeditious way of closing the career of their prisoners. The negroes gave the first intimation to the captives of what was going on. Richard Turner took care to dash the hopes of his captives, as well as add to their anxiety, by informing them that "Should Kilpatrick succeed in entering Richmond, it would not help them, as the prison authorities would blow up the prison, and all its inmates." Lieutenant Latouche was overheard observing to a rebel officer with whom he had entered the cellar, where the two hundred pounds of powder were said to be placed, "There is enough there to send every damned Yankee to hell." Turner himself said, in the presence of Colonel Farnsworth, in answer to the question "Was the prison mined?" "Yes, and I would have blown you all to hades before I would have suffered you to be rescued." The idea is so monstrously shocking that the mind hesitates to grasp it, or believe it, and yet the evidence, even if it does come by rebel admissions, has an air of diabolical sincerity. The act was altogether consistent with the characters of the three men who had authority over the prison.

WORSE TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. — But there is a still lower depth of suffering to be exposed. The rank of the officers, however disregarded in most respects, induced some consideration; but for the private soldiers there seemed to be no regard whatever, and no sentiment which could restrain.

Belle Isle is a small island in the James River, and the portion on which the prisoners are confined is low, sandy, and barren, without a tree to cast a shadow. Here is an enclosure, variously estimated to be from three to six acres in extent, surrounded by an earthwork about three feet high, with a ditch on either side. On the edge of the outer ditch, all round the enclosure, guards are stationed about forty feet apart, and keep watch there day and night. The interior has something of the look of an encampment, a number of Sibley tents being set in rows, with "streets" between. These tents, rotten, torn, full of holes, poor shelter at any rate, accommodated only a small proportion of those confined within these low earth walls. The number varied at different periods; but from ten to twelve thousand men have been imprisoned in this small space at one time, turned into the enclosure like so many cattle to find what resting-place they could. So crowded were they, that, at the least, there could not have been but a space two feet by seven, and, at the most, three feet by nine, per man, — hardly a generous allotment even for a "hospitable grave." Some were so fortunate as to find shelter in the tents, but even they were often wet with the rain, and almost frozen when the winter set in. Every day some places were made vacant by disease or by death, as some were taken to the hospital, and some to burial. But thousands had no tents, and no shelter of any kind. Nothing was provided for their accommodation. Lumber was plenty in a country of forests; but not a cabin or shed was built, although the commonest material would have been a grateful boon to the captives, and would have been quickly and ingeniously employed by them.

This is an established station for prisoners of war; and yet not a movement has been made, from its beginning to this moment, to erect barracks, or make any suitable and humane provisions for the comfort of those confined there. It remains to this day an open encampment, close under the walls of Richmond, and well known to the Confederate authorities, with nothing but the heavens for its canopy. Here these thousands lay all last summer, fall, and winter, with nought but the sand for their bed, and the sky for their covering. What did they do in the summer and early autumn, with the sickening heat of a torrid sun pouring upon their unprotected heads? What did they do when the rain descended and the floods came? What did they suffer when the malarious fog enveloped them, or when the sharp winds swept up the river, and pierced their almost naked and shivering forms? Stripped of blankets and overcoats, hatless often, shoeless often, in ragged coats and rotting shirts, they were obliged to take the weather as it came. Here and there a tent had a fire, and the inmates gathered round it; but the thousands outside shivered as the cold cut them to the bone, and huddled together for warmth and sympathy.

The winter came, one of the hardest winters ever experienced in the South; but still no better shelter was provided. The mercury was down to zero at Memphis, which is further south than Richmond. The snow lay deep on the ground around Richmond. The ice formed in

the James, and flowed in masses upon the rapids, on either side of the island. Water, left in buckets on the island, froze two or three inches deep in a single night. The men resorted to every expedient to keep from perishing. They lay in the ditch, as the most protected place, heaped upon one another, and lying close together, as one of them expressed it, "like hogs in winter," taking turns as to who should have the outside of the row. In the morning the row of the previous night was marked by the motionless forms of those "who were sleeping on in their last sleep,"—*frozen to death!* Every day, during the winter season, numbers were conveyed away stiff and stark, having fallen asleep in everlasting cold. Some of the men dug holes in the sand in which to take refuge. All through the night crowds of them were heard running up and down to keep themselves from freezing. And this fate threatened them even more than it would have threatened most men, exposed to an equally severe temperature, even with such thin clothing and inadequate shelter,—*for they were starving!* The very sustenance of animal heat was withheld; and one of the most urgent occasions of hunger, a freezing temperature, which makes the bodily necessity stronger, and the appetite for food greater, was given full opportunity to make havoc among them. So the last stay and power of resistance was taken away; the cold froze them because they were hungry; the hunger consumed them because they were cold. These two vultures fed upon their vitals, and no one in the Southern Confederacy had the mercy or the pity to drive them away. Only once was there heard a voice of indignant remonstrance in the rebel Congress from a noble-hearted statesman; but it was heard with indifference, and brought about no alleviation.

Read the rude words of these suffering men. They were fed as the swine are fed. A chunk of corn-bread, twelve or fourteen ounces in weight, half baked, full of cracks as if baked in the sun, musty in taste, containing whole grains of corn, fragments of cob, and pieces of husks; meat often tainted, suspiciously like mule-meat, and a mere mouthful at that; two or three spoonfuls of rotten beans; soup thin and briny, often with the worms floating on the surface. None of these were given together, and the whole ration was never one half the quantity necessary for the support of a healthy man. The reader will not be surprised to hear that the men were ravenous when the rations were brought in, nor remain unmoved by the simple and touching expressions which fell from so many of them: "There was no name for our hunger." "I was hungry, — pretty nearly starved to death all the time." "I waked up one night, and found myself gnawing my coat-sleeve." "I used to dream of having something good to eat." "I walked the streets for many a night; I could not sleep for hunger." "If I were to sit here a week, I could not tell you half our suffering."

There were other indications of the desperate famine to which they were subjected. They gnawed the very bones which had been thrown away, sometimes breaking them up for soup. They were glad to get the refuse bread which was occasionally thrown to them by the guards.

They even ate the rats which burrowed in the encampment. A dog, belonging to an officer, straying into the enclosure was caught and sequestered, and before he could reclaim his property, it was torn apart by the man who stole it, some of it eaten by himself, and the remainder sold to his comrades. So reduced were they, that they exchanged their clothing for food, and left themselves exposed the more to the cold. Under the temptation to secure double rations, many worked at their trades of blacksmithing and shoemaking for the rebel army.

But as the weary months drew on, hunger told its inevitable tale on them all. They grew weak and emaciated. Many found that they could not walk; when they attempted it, a dizziness and blindness came, and they fell to the ground. Diarrhœa, scurvy, congestion of the lungs, and low fevers set in. To add to their suffering, there came the unavoidable consequences of being herded and crowded together, but in this case especially aggravated by a most unnecessary restriction. A broad beach surrounded the island; and yet only about seventy-five men were permitted to bathe per day in the river, in squads of five or six at a time. At this rate it was literally and almost accurately what so many of the men state, that they were allowed to wash themselves only once in six months. "Lice were in all their quarters." Vermin and dirt incrustated their bodies. They were sore with lying in the sand. None, not even the sufferers with diarrhœa, were allowed to visit the sinks during the night, and in the morning the ground was covered and saturated with filth. The wells were tainted; the air was filled with disgusting odors.

We intended to give a pretty complete abstract of this report, but are compelled to reserve a few pages to our next number.

RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE ATROCITIES OF THIS CONFLICT. — We cannot wonder that foreigners should look in a sort of incredulous amazement upon facts like the foregoing; but it seems passing strange, that persons of the least intelligence and candor should hold us responsible in any way or degree for such outrages. We have all along done everything we could to prevent and mitigate them, and now the whole responsibility for them rests on the slave-mongering rebel leaders, whom European aristocrats have so eagerly taken as pets to their bosom, and whose monstrous crime against humanity, freedom, and good government they have encouraged in every way they could consistently with their own safety. We responsible! The charge is an outrageous injustice, of which any organ of European opinion ought to be ashamed, and of which we complain chiefly on account of its influence in exasperating our people to such a degree as may lead in time to collisions that all will deeply deplore.

But how shall we account for such persistent, systematic atroc-


ities? They are all due to slavery, — to the spirit it generates, to the habits it forms, and the exigencies requisite for its support. In such a country and age as this slavery can keep itself alive only by such means. We speak from a long and bitter experience; and no man, not familiar with our slave system, can well conceive its baleful influence in barbarizing and well-nigh brutalizing any community that adopt it as their leading characteristic. A people that will abet or tolerate such a system, may be expected to perpetrate any deeds, however brutal or fiendish, that may be deemed necessary for its support and extension. Here is the key to nearly all the cruelties and barbarities that have disgraced the present conflict.

So far, then, from reproach, our government and people deserve the sympathy of all good men through the world for the humanity, forbearance, and indulgence shown in dealing with such a set of rebels. Incidental wrongs are indispensable from such a contest; but we doubt whether history can furnish an instance in which a rebellion, so inexcusable, gigantic, and atrocious, has been treated with equal lenity and equal freedom from the spirit and the deeds of malice or revenge.

OUR DEBT — seems from official statement, made at the close of October, to have reached then \$2,017,009,515, an increase of more than \$61,000,000 during the last month. An increase in our expenses of two millions of dollars every day over and above all that the government is raising by a very high tariff, and by taxes, raised in some cases sixty or seventy per cent. above those of last year. We see that strenuous efforts are persistently made to convince our people that they are able to bear these fast increasing burdens; but there is a point beyond which they will not go, and the men intrusted with the management of our public affairs should take good heed not to exceed this limit. The pressure of these millions, accumulating at the fearful rate of two millions a day, must in time be sorely felt, and may, ere we are aware, create a fatal reaction. No logic, no array of our vast resources, can conceal the startling fact, that more than one eighth of all our wealth is now mortgaged to pay what this rebellion has already cost. How much more it is going to waste, none can tell; but the result is sure to furnish such a financial argument in favor of peaceful measures rather than those of war as the world has seldom witnessed.

CAPTURE OF THE FLORIDA.—This piratical craft, after preying long upon our commerce, was lately captured by the Wachusett, one of our war-steamers, in the Brazilian port of Bahia, and immediately brought back to our country. We must regret its capture, if it was made in violation of right or international law, and fear it may stir the war-spirit and aristocratic prejudices of governments that have long been watching to find us in fault. It would seem from what foreign papers report, that they are meditating some sort of a collective protest against the seizure of the Florida, and will doubtless be able to create something of a breeze in diplomatic circles, and perhaps to complicate, if not embroil, our foreign relations. The utterances of English and French papers betray an eager readiness to carp and complain; but we trust our rulers will have the wisdom, and spirit of candor and conciliation, requisite to avert all real danger of war from this and like occurrences to which we are now so constantly exposed.

AMOUNT OF LABOR EXPENDED IN MILITARY OPERATIONS.—We have heard of the military engine christened "Swamp Angel." Col. Serrel, who superintended the construction on which it was mounted, said it required 7000 days' work, and exposure to constant fire from numerous rebel batteries as soon as the work appeared above the grass. It stands on the very softest of mud, twenty-two feet deep, so soft that a man will sink into it out of sight if he attempts to walk on it. Ten thousand bags, filled with sand, were carried more than two miles, and 300 large logs and pieces of timber more than ten miles, to make the battery. Two miles and a half of bridges across the marsh had to be built to get to and from the batteries.

 **FUNDS — ANNUAL CONTRIBUTIONS.**—December is the time fixed by long usage for our friends to forward their contributions; and we trust they will bear in mind that in times like these we need their aid more than ever, not merely because everything costs so much, but because we can now expect aid only from our most intelligent, reliable supporters. The cause, if sustained at all, must be well-nigh solely by such friends; and we are more and more convinced that it *ought* by all means to be kept alive through this fearful crisis. We are doing what we can for this purpose, and are quite willing to do much more than our share; but we shall need from our friends abroad all the aid they can render, and trust they will kindly consider our wants, and forward the result at their earliest convenience.



TO EDITORS—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.

TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL—the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706.....	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 193.....	75
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,.....	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252.....	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212.....	25
Bancroft on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108.....	20
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier. 16 mo., pp. 303. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.....	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333.....	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 319.....	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond. 8vo., pp. 168.....	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.....	20
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2 50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.....	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12.....	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.....	
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts.	

FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of _____ dollars, to be paid in _____ months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. — **Be** very careful to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested by the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your purpose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE.—*The law allows* only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may be addressed all communications designed for the Society.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

CONTENTS.

Money Argument for Peace.....	198	Rebel Treatment of Prisoners.....	220
Blockade Running.....	201	Prisoners in Richmond.....	220
Peace Compatible with Government.....	202	Appearance of Returned Prison-	
Belligerent Rights to Rebels.....	203	ers.....	220
Correspondence of our Soldiers.....	206	Excuses for such Treatment.....	222
Extent of Actual War in the World.....	207	This Treatment Intentional.....	223
Plea for War from Scripture.....	208	Our Treatment of Rebel Prison-	
Scene at Atlanta.....	212	ers.....	225
Money not the Greatest Power.....	212	Effect of the War on Morals.....	226
The late Election, Mr. Everett on.....	213	English Religious Charities.....	227
Disruption of the Republic Perpetual		Woman's Testimony against War.....	227
War.....	214	Exemption of Peace Men.....	228
Success in Suppressing the Rebellion.....	218	Difficulties from Concession of Bellig-	
Our National Finances.....	218	erent Rights.....	228
Large Armies.....	219	Funds.....	228

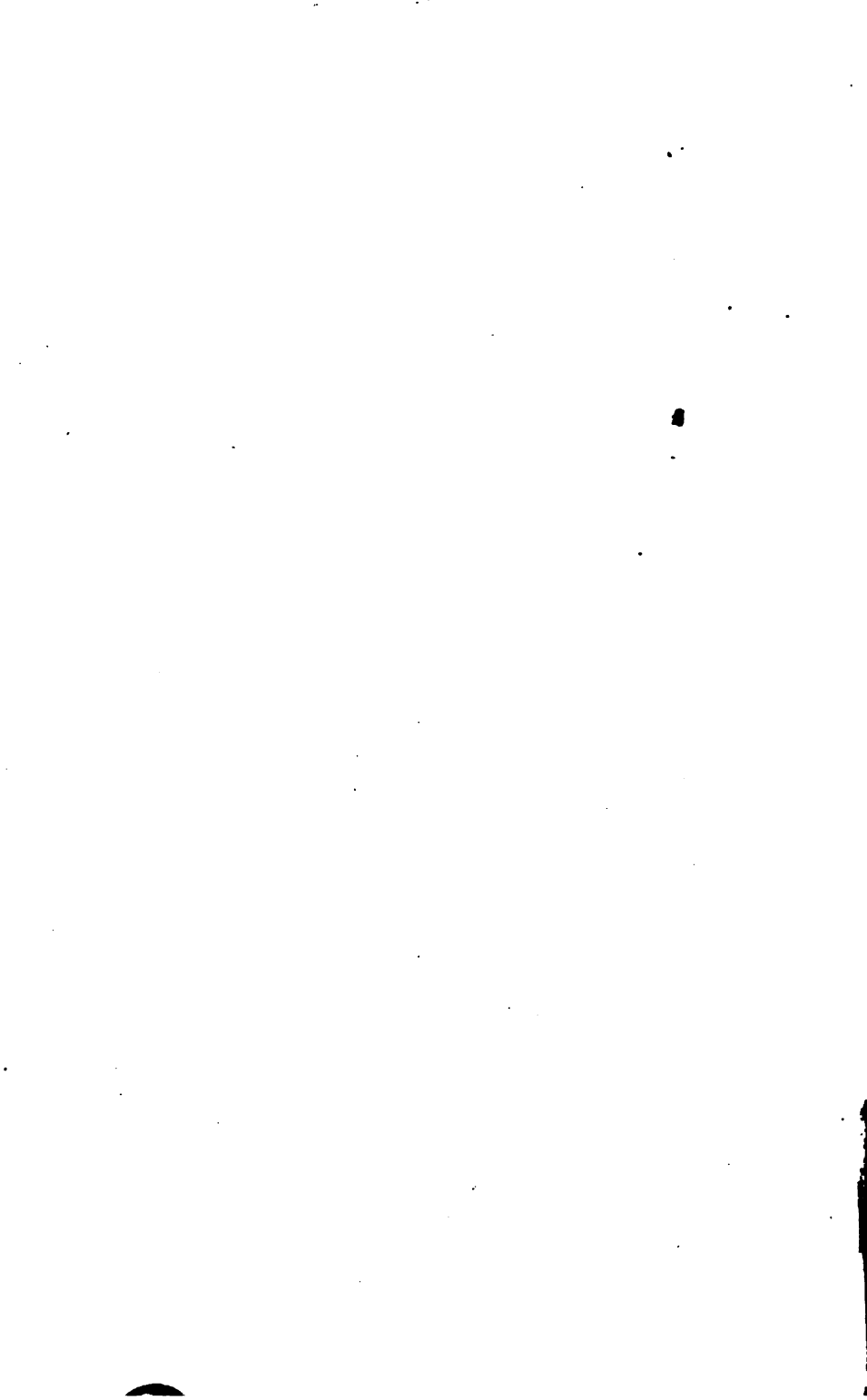
 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.

CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.

1865.



THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JANUARY AND FEBRUARY.

THE MONEY ARGUMENT FOR PEACE.

THE arguments for peace are manifold ; but the most palpable, and to the mass of minds most immediately effective, are those which appeal to their pecuniary interests. Here is an argument that all can understand, and most will feel. Press this ; and you will find in every bosom a sore spot wincing under the pressure. In most men the "pocket nerve" is the most sensitive of all ; and if you touch that, you are quite sure of a prompt, full response.

What a response, then, must we expect in future years from the pecuniary demands of the present civil war upon us ! We are only just beginning to learn by bitter experience how much war costs, and how heavily it taxes all our possessions, pursuits, and interests. We reached at a leap a scale of war expenses that throws into shade even the prodigality that in the course of ages has loaded Europe with an aggregate debt of nearly tenthousand millions of dollars ; and if we go on, we shall soon find Sidney Smith's sketch of English taxation more than realized in our own case : " Taxes upon every article which enters the mouth, or covers the back, or is placed under the feet ; taxes upon everything which it is pleasant to see, hear, feel, smell, or taste ; taxes upon warmth, light, and locomotion ; taxes upon everything on the earth, and

in the waters under the earth ; taxes on everything that comes from abroad, or is grown at home ; taxes on the raw material, and upon every fresh value that is added to it by the industry of man ; taxes on the sauce that pampers man's appetite, and the drug that restores him to health ; on the ermine which decorates the judge, and the rope which hangs the criminal ; on the poor man's salt, and the rich man's spice ; on the brass nails of the coffin, and the ribbons of the bride. Taxes we never escape ; at bed or board, couchant or levant, we must pay. The school-boy whips his taxed top ; the beardless youth manages his taxed horse, with a taxed bridle, upon a taxed road ; and the dying Englishman, pouring his medicine which has paid seven per cent. into a spoon that has paid fifteen per cent., flings himself back upon his chintz bed which has paid twenty-two per cent., makes his will on an eight-pound stamp, and expires in the arms of an apothecary who has paid a license of a hundred pounds for the privilege of putting him to death. His whole property is immediately taxed from two to ten per cent. Besides the probate, large fees are demanded for burying him in the chancel ; his virtues are handed down to posterity on taxed marble ; and then he is gathered to his fathers—to be taxed no more."

We have not yet reached this climax of taxation ; but we are certainly in a fair way even to exceed it ere long. It took England two hundred years or more to accumulate a debt of some four thousand millions of dollars ; but, adding the debts of our rebels to our own, we shall probably find the whole amount for both parts of our common country to be in four years only a fraction less than that of our fatherland in two centuries. In some three years and a half after we grappled this rebellion, our debt, besides all the hundreds of millions we had raised every year by tariffs and taxes, amounted on the first of last October to more than \$2,000,000,000, which the President's recent message represents as likely to be \$2,500,000,000 next July, and was officially reported as sixty-one millions more on the first of November, or at the rate of 732 millions a year. We see not why this rate should not continue, perhaps increase to the end of the war ; and, if so, the joint liabilities of North and South, as somebody must either pay or lose those of our rebels, are likely to exceed by many millions any debt that was ever accumulated in the world's history, all in half a dozen years !

Well may these calculations seem incredible ; but we fear they will be found in the end to fall short of the actual results. Nor does all this tell the whole story ; for we must add the suspension or derangement of business alike on land and sea, the wide, wholesale destruction of property in a thousand ways, and the death or life-long crippling of full a million of able-bodied laborers, before we approximate the sum total of pecuniary loss. Take a single one of these items. A common laborer, twenty or twenty-five years old, sound and healthy, as every soldier is required to be, must be worth to a country like ours, to say nothing of the skilled artisans, and men of talent and high culture found as officers in the army and navy, not less certainly than \$150 a year, half a dollar a day, for twenty years or more ; and even at this low estimate, a million of men, such as this war will have sacrificed, would alone amount in pecuniary value to three thousand millions of dollars ! We have no heart to push these calculations any farther ; but our country, North and South, may congratulate itself if it comes out of this mad, atrocious rebellion, with a loss in one way and another, of eight thousand millions of dollars !

Mark, then, the vast economy of the cause for which we plead. All this immense waste might have been saved by a timely and adequate support of the Peace Reform. A little more than fifty years ago, it began, by the spread of facts and arguments from the pulpit, platform, and press, its great work of recasting public opinion on this subject in the pacific mould of the gospel. The effect in our Northern States, more especially in New-England, was very marked. In twenty or thirty years so great a change was wrought as to bring our once universally popular militia system into such general disrepute that no efforts of politicians seemed capable of galvanizing it into popularity, or even preserving it in more than a merely nominal existence. Public opinion began in earnest to discard the war-method of settling disputes, and to demand other and far better means for the purpose. So general and effective were these views becoming that we doubt whether any provocation could ever have driven New England to attempt in any case a redress of her own wrongs by an appeal to the sword, certainly not so long as there should be left to her a fair resort to the ballot-box, to Congress, and our courts. Had she no provocation ? Yes, she had grievances even more than the South ever had. Long did the slave-power seek, with too much

success, to undermine by adverse legislation her peculiar interests, and at length outraged her conscience by annexing Texas and bringing on the Mexican war, both in the interest of slavery alone. Here were far better reasons for rebellion than the South has ever had ; but what did New England do? Did she strive to fire the Northern heart into deeds of violence and blood? Did she insolently defy the general government, trample all its laws under her feet, and overwhelm the whole land with the countless evils of civil war? Never for one moment did she dream of such suicidal folly and guilt, but quietly set herself at work to right her wrongs only by legal, peaceful means through the press and the platform, by the school and the fireside, by the ballot-box and the halls of Congress.

Now, it is quite clear that such habits as these, if prevalent in season all over the South, would have saved us from this rebellion. It could never have come. The very men now steeped to their ears in its guilt and blood, would have shrunk back in horror from the thought of such wholesale, suicidal folly. We know well that slavery is at the bottom of it all ; but they would never have drawn the sword for its support and extension against our government, if they had not been trained all their life in the war-habit of relying on the sword to gain their ends, right or wrong. Here is the seat of the disease ; and here must the remedy be applied. The rebellion is a legitimate fruit of their war-education ; and never, till they are differently educated, can we be safe from like evils in future.

How much, then, would such an education have cost? A great deal, we admit, yet scarce a thousandth part of what it would have saved in money alone. Suppose that good men, fifty years ago, had set themselves resolutely at work, as we urged they should, to spread light on this subject all over the land, how much would it have cost to educate the mass of our Southern people on this subject as well as those of the North now are? The merest fraction already lost on both sides in this rebellion. It has cost the North alone more than two millions a day, and the South nearly as much more : a sum total of cost and waste not less certainly than four millions a day. Take, then, a single day's loss ; and the bare interest, \$240,000 a year, would have much more than sufficed, with God's blessing on right means, to fill ere this our whole land, East and West, North and South, with such sentiments, and

habits as would have rendered our present conflict morally impossible, and done more than all the armies and navies in the world to guard us against foreign wars.

Such is the economy of peace. And must not such facts and arguments as these bring ere long all the friends of God, of humanity, or their country to sustain an enterprise so important as this with a hundred-fold increase of liberality and zeal? Can either money or labor be spent in any other way to better purpose? Will not benevolent men of wealth give it their thousands and scores of thousands, if necessary, until it shall have all it may need for the accomplishment of its beneficent, godlike work? We see that some individuals are taxed ten thousand, fifty thousand, a hundred thousand dollars, a few even half a million each, on their annual income. Would it not be a dictate of self-interest, as well as of benevolence, to spend a fraction of their vast wealth for the prevention in future of such evils as are now upon us? We would not in season spend one million for peace, and now we are *obliged* to waste on both sides more than four thousand millions in putting down rebellion. How long can we, with all our boasted resources, bear such prodigality? Must it not in time, if not very soon, end in utter, perhaps irretrievable ruin?

BLOCKADE RUNNING A LOSING BUSINESS. — When successful, the profits are enormous; but on the whole it proves a bad speculation. Here is a specimen of its results given by the correspondent of a London journal in the case of 133 vessels: —

Captured by blockaders.....	50
Lost or burned.....	44
Now in Cape Fear River.....	1
Returned to England.....	6
Worn out	1
Now running.....	11
Started but not yet in	20
Total.....	133

A GLIMPSE OF WAR. — We get now enough of such glimpses at every turn; but we were lately struck with much force on reading the statement of an officer "that our army could not long remain in its present position, owing to the stench of the 50,000 decaying horses and mules which strew the country for miles around Chattanooga." What a revelation of horrors inseparable from war!

PEACE COMPATIBLE WITH GOVERNMENT.

WE might quote almost at random from the publications of our Society to show that the position it takes on the present rebellion is only a fair, legitimate application of the principles it has distinctly avowed from the first. Nearly twenty years ago it stereotyped a "*Peace Manual*," a little compend of some three hundred pages, "designed to furnish the most important facts, arguments, and explanations on the main topics embraced in the cause of Peace." As a classic in this reform, it may be regarded as a fair exponent of the views promulgated by the friends of peace.

"I trust," says the writer in his preface, "there will be found in this book nothing that interferes with the legitimate authority of government. As a friend of peace, I am of course a supporter of civil government, with all the powers requisite for the condign punishment of wrong-doers, the enforcement of law, and the preservation of social order. I deem government, in spite of its abuses, an ordinance of God for the good of mankind; nor can I as a peace-man, hold any doctrines incompatible in my view with its just and necessary powers over its own subjects. I condemn *only* the GREAT DUEL OF NATIONS."

Here is the precise ground on which we stand to-day, and must always stand, or give up all government. It *must* have the right to execute its laws; and, in recognizing its existence, we of course concede to it this right, and require such an exercise of it as shall prevent or punish crime. Whether committed by few or many, by one man or by millions, it must be treated on the same principle, and in essentially the same way. If a single crime deserves a prison or a halter, much more must a million. If the man who breaks one law ought to be punished, surely a conspiracy of millions to trample all laws and all authority under foot, and put in peril the peace and welfare of a kingdom or a continent, must be worthy of a retribution far more severe and signal.

True; it is no part of our business as peace-reformers to deal with such offenders, or with any violators of law; but it is the province of civil government to enforce its laws against them by all the means at its command, and the duty of peace-men, as of all other good citizens, to uphold it in such exercise of its rightful and indispensable authority. There is no escape from this but in a denial

of all government, and a plunge into utter, interminable anarchy. Rulers may enforce law in a very wrong way; but however censurable in their mode of doing it, they still have, and *must* have, the right to do so *at discretion*. The abuse of a parent's right to govern his own family, however censurable, does not nullify that right; nor can a magistrate's wrong spirit or manner of executing civil laws abrogate his right to enforce them.

CONCESSION OF BELLIGERENT RIGHTS TO REBELS.

ON the general question of belligerent rights there is little doubt, or diversity of opinion. When two nations, whether great or small, a vast empire like Great Britain, or a petty kingdom like Portugal or Denmark, actually engage in war, no believer in the received principles of international law thinks of questioning their right to do so, or the duty of other States to allow them all the powers and privileges belonging to actual belligerents. Every government is supposed to have the right of going to war at pleasure against any other one, and no third party has in ordinary cases any right to interfere, but is bound to maintain a strict neutrality.

But what is war? Our best lexicographers define it as "a contest by force between *Nations* or *States*." No conflict between any other parties can properly be called war. Individuals may get up a mob or riot, an insurrection, or even a rebellion, upon a large, gigantic scale, and the government in the exercise of its legitimate powers may employ such a police or military force as may be found necessary for its suppression; but the result, however great the sacrifice of property and life, would not deserve the name of war, because the parties are not two nations or recognized governments, but only the lawful government of the country enforcing its laws against their violators. The number conspiring in the crime, whether few or many, does not alter the nature of the case. *WAR can exist only between two distinct NATIONALITIES*; and here is only one nationality, asserting its rights, and discharging its duties by the restraint or punishment of its disobedient subjects. To call such a process of justice war, would be as absurd as it would be to brand with this epithet the arrest of a burglar, the suppression of a riot, or the execution of a murderer.

Now, what right have foreign governments to interfere in any

such case? It is strictly a domestic question; the question whether the government of a country shall put its laws in force, or its subjects be allowed to trample them under foot with impunity. It is a dispute for the settlement of which the parties are responsible only to one another and to God. Why should foreigners intermeddle? How can they without introducing a principle fatal to the independence of all governments, and to the peace of the world?

Let us, then, inquire how far the concession of belligerent rights to such wholesale law-breakers as rebels are, is a friendly or justifiable act. Can it be so in any case? Precisely what does it mean, and what must be its designed, inevitable effect? It raises these law-breakers for the time to the dignity of an independent government, possessed of the same rights with the lawful government they are resisting and trying to overthrow. It says in effect to these conspirators, banded for the commission by wholesale of such crimes as every government on earth punishes with exemplary severity, 'You have just as good a right to violate the laws of your country as its government has to enforce them; and we will give you, as far as we can without taking ourselves a responsible part in the contest, a favorable opportunity to cripple and crush, if you can, the government you have sworn to obey, and whose laws yourselves joined in enacting. We will applaud you in this case for acts that we should deem in our own subjects worthy of the gallows, and vindicate your *right* to pillage, murder, and destroy not only with impunity, but with a fair claim to the world's admiration of your gallant achievements. We will hold you to no responsibility for any crimes you may commit; and when the agents you may send forth to rob, burn, and kill, shall flee to us for refuge, we will not, as required by our treaty obligations, surrender them as fugitives from justice, but will screen and protect them on the ground that, having conceded to you belligerent powers, we thereby recognized your right to perpetrate all such crimes with impunity!'

Such we take to be the true import, the actual effect, of what is termed a concession of belligerent rights to rebels. Can such an act, then, ever be considered a friendly act? Never; but one of the most comprehensive and effective acts of hostility that one government can commit against another. It is a stab "under the fifth rib" at its very vitals. In what other way, short of declar-

ing actual war against us, could England and France have injured us so much as they did by conceding in such hot haste belligerent rights to our rebels? It made those powers in effect parties in this domestic quarrel. It was a practical indorsement of the rebellion, a proclamation to the world of their desire for its success, a proffer in advance of their sympathy and moral aid. It was worth at the time almost everything to our rebels. It gave them prestige, credit, and heart. It was long, if it be not still, the sheet-anchor of their hopes; and it may well be doubted whether without it they would have ever attempted, or long continued, the rebellion.

Now, could anything short of actual war have been more palpably, more effectively, hostile? It would be an insult upon common sense to represent it as a friendly act. Nobody ever so regarded it in fact, but as *a direct interference with our domestic affairs for the purpose of injuring us*. It did injure us deeply, and must have been meant to do so. As well might France and England have conceded belligerent rights to the rioters of New York in 1863, and thus attempted to screen them from the punishment due to their crimes. The principle would have been the same. That plot was only a flank movement in aid of the rebellion, and the deeds there done were in their nature the same that our rebels have been for years perpetrating on a larger scale in other parts of the country. Such an interference in that case would have been only a more glaring, not a more real, proof of enmity. It insults our common sense to call the concession of belligerent rights to our rebels a friendly act. It *must* have been meant to facilitate and insure the dismemberment of our republic.

Seldom has the concession of belligerent rights to rebels been viewed by the government assailed in any other light than an inimical act. If we had granted such rights, in 1838, to Canadian rebels, would not England have resented it as an unfriendly act? Had France done the same in the favor of Ireland at the first outbreak of her rebellion, or had Russia and other powers in 1856 encouraged Nina Sahib in his efforts to overthrow British rule in India, would she not have bitterly complained? But not with half the reason that we have in the present case. Why did neither England nor France concede belligerent rights to Polish rebels in 1862? On the score of mere right or humanity, it was a much stronger case; and why did they not do as much for those rebels

as they did for ours? They knew well that Russia would have called them to speedy account as a hostile act, while in our case they had no such salutary fear before their eyes.

On the question, then, of granting belligerent rights to rebels, what is the proper rule? Writers on international law seem to have none, certainly none well-defined and fully settled; but we think the only safe one is to deny such rights until their independence is recognized, and leave them to be treated like other violators of law. Why not? They are in fact as real criminals as any other class of offenders; and we see not why foreign governments should interfere in their case more than they do in behalf of robbers, incendiaries, or murderers. Are they liable to harsh, unjust treatment? So are all wrong-doers; but if we allow interference on this ground, we are likely to undermine the independence of all governments, and leave them to become the foot-ball or shuttle-cock of faction and crime.

On this point we think the example of our own government worthy of all praise. It has never had anything to do with the internal affairs of other nations, but has always left them perfectly free to adopt such a form of government, to enact such laws, and to execute them in such ways as they chose. While scrupulously neutral, it has frankly shown its interest in the rise of institutions akin to its own, but has never attempted any crusade in their favor, or instigated or aided rebellion by conceding to it in advance belligerent rights. It has left every government to deal with rebels, like any other offenders, in accordance with its own laws. Within the last twenty-five years, we have seen three rebellions against the British government on three continents; but in neither case did we dream of facilitating the rebellion by the proffer of belligerent rights. Let a like course be pursued by all governments, and there could be little complaint from any quarter.

CORRESPONDENCE OF OUR ARMY. — A curious index to the character and condition of our soldiers was lately seen in the post-office at Washington. In two days of July not less than 400,000 soldiers' letters passed through that office to friends at the North, chiefly from the Potomac army; weighing, in all, more than six tons! How much is implied in a correspondence so vast and so wide-spread! Is there in all history anything to match it?

EXTENT OF ACTUAL WAR IN THE WORLD.

It would seem as if war were the great business of mankind. "Three quarters of humanity," says a late French journal, "are in fact living in the barbarous state of war." There is war in Poland, in Algeria, in Mexico, in the United States, in Peru, and some other parts of South America, in New Zealand, in China, Japan, and Afghanistan, besides we know not how many portions of Africa. In every case except the last, Christians, so called, are engaged as the chief agents, mostly in fighting one another, while the war-system of Christendom makes all Europe little else than one vast camp of troops sleeping with their armor on. Scarce one of its countries, unless it be insular England, that is not continually in danger of actual war.

What does all this mean? Is here the proper, legitimate result of the gospel in its influence upon the intercourse of nations professing to acknowledge its authority? This the culmination of its power to improve and bless in this respect the great brotherhood of nations? Only this the civilization to be expected from its progress toward evangelizing the world? The people of all Christendom armed to their very teeth against each other, the sword still recognized as the only ultimate arbiter of their disputes, their chief energies and resources spent even during a time of peace in preparing to fight each other! Can this be the Christianity whose birth-song was chanted by angels over the manger-cradle of its founder, "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will to men;" and whose spread over all the earth was, in accordance with prophecy, to usher in a reign of peace co-extensive with its progress, constraining nations to beat their swords into ploughshares, their spears into pruning-hooks, and learn war no more?

Alas! the war-system of Christendom is a libel of blood upon her religion of peace. But whom will God hold mainly responsible for this state of things? In the hands of his children, the professed followers of the Prince of Peace, he has for long ages put all the means requisite, if used aright, to prevent this shameful, most deplorable result. Had they in season done their whole duty on this subject, it *would* have been prevented; and thus do Christians stand to-day before God and the world responsible for most of the evils inflicted upon mankind by the war-system of Christendom.

A PLEA FOR WAR FROM SCRIPTURE.

Said the Prince of peace, when commissioning his disciples, "Behold I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves: be ye, therefore, wise as serpents, and harmless as doves." It is now half a century since the Spirit of the Lord sent forth, as lambs in the midst of wolves, a deputation for the special purpose of advancing that department of his kingdom which stands opposed to international war. Men on both sides of the Atlantic, simultaneously called by the same Spirit, and the same time unknown to each other, went forth to this good work. But their success has not been commensurate with the hopes justly inspired by an enterprise so truly and eminently Christian. We do not yet greet their return with the grateful acclamation, "Lord, even the devils are subject to us through thy name." Why? If not quite as "harmless as doves," none can well impugn their motives, or the general correctness of their principles, or their aims. But have they practised due wisdom, sagacity, and boldness? The monster to be overcome is not only gigantic and ferocious, but wily and artful, capable of transforming himself into an angel of light. If he cannot be approached in his work of carnage by the gentleness of the dove, may he not when attired in sheep's clothing? To drop all figure, must not the friends of peace approach this subject in time of peace, and first of all remove the plausible defences of war, and hold it up before the moral law, civil justice, and the human conscience, in all its naked deformity, as an object of universal abhorrence?

The most plausible defences of war are considerations of justice, religion, and honor, forced into its support. It claims to be essential to civil government in administering justice. Nothing could be more false. Fighting is not governing; neither is governing fighting. How gross would such language sound, if applied to family government, to school government, or even to the divine government! Equally incongruous is it when applied to civil government.

Let us discriminate in the case. Government is the action of a sovereign power over a subordinate; while war is the hostile action of two belligerents, each striving to weaken and vanquish the other. Says the Bible, "He that ruleth over men must be just, ruling in the fear of God." The law of war says, 'What is right for one party to do by virtue of a state of war, is right also for the other.' The arms of both parties are to be accounted equally just, as pertains to external effects. How often is it said we must support our government at all hazards. And how shall we support it but by war? I will only say, war is not necessarily defence, nor is mere defence necessarily war. I dispute, however, the premises as intended in this connection; and it is for this special purpose I now write, not to oppose the legitimate operations of government in suppressing rebellion, but to ascertain its proper sphere, functions, and powers.

I am not dealing with war as a mere abstraction, but as a practical question. 'Support government at all hazards.' Is this a settled axiom, too sacred for scrutiny? What are we to understand by government,

—our government? Is it an integral and indispensable something? While the governments of other nations may be treated as incapable of being considered in parts, ours is so organized that we may readily consider it in two distinct parts, or, perhaps, as two distinct governments, each charged with its appropriate sphere of duties. As pertains to other nations, theirs also are charged with the same two classes, though under one organization.

Let us look at the two, — *State* and *National*. The first of these, rightly understood, is an organization of the governmental powers of the great body of the citizens of a given section of country, called a *State*, for governmental purposes. This branch, acting in its appropriate sphere, needs no supports from war, and generally asks none. It satisfies itself with being a "terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well." But the governmental power called *nationality*, is that which has to do with international intercourse, and claims the support of war as necessary often to its existence.

But where is the absolute necessity that the nationalities of the earth, not even excepting our own, should be sustained at all hazards in their present form at the expense of the lives of its citizens to any supposable extent? Is nationality an integer that cannot be broken without its annihilation? Have all the additions to our own nation since its rise fallen to it by a law of absolute necessity? Is it more so with other nations? Those changes which have taken place were the product of human volition. If governments derive their powers, more or less directly, from the consent of the governed, as they always should, may not a respectable division ask and receive leave to withdraw, and form a separate nationality? What principle of law or of religion would such a transaction violate? Do not nations rise and fall without the sacrifice of all the people of whom they are composed? Why may they not, then, without the sacrifice of any? Is nationality, as distinct from what I style *State*, the great protector of rights? Has it not rather proved their destroyer the world over?

But the great plea for war comes up as a finality: "The honor of the nation requires it, and must be sustained." To this I reply: honor, pursued as an object, is consummate shame. Much as a good name may be valued, well-doing, and not its pursuit, is its price. This is equally true of nations as of individuals. Yet, notwithstanding this self-evident fact, Vattel says in his "*Law of Nations*," "The *glory* of a nation depends entirely on its *powers*. He who attacks its glory, does it an injury; and it has a right to demand, even by force of arms, a just recompense!" Alas! for national honor of a character which would disgrace our dogs in the street!

But inquiries like these have not been treated as open for discussion and animadversion; and herein the lambs have not ventured to approach the wolves, as they should have done. There are, indeed, many reasons, good and strong, for the existence and support of nationality; but not under its present laws and regulations. *These are barbarous*. Says an English writer,* "That heterogeneous collection of doctrines, precepts,

*See "*Advocate of Peace*" for 1862, page 128.

and judgments which goes under the name of international law is, for the most part, the offspring of an age widely different from our own. It was an age when the rights of kings were deemed of higher moment than the interests of the people; when communication between the inhabitants of different countries was difficult and rare; and when the pursuit of arms was considered an occupation so supremely honorable that all other occupations were remorselessly sacrificed to its exigencies." But exposures like this are of little avail while nationality, and its reliance, war, are arrayed in Scripture garb. Thus Romans xiii. 1-8 is often quoted, or fragmentary parts of it cited, as if this scripture afforded a garb of protection to nationality with all its absurdities, could shield its claims to wage and sustain war at the sacrifice of its subjects by hecatombs, and even required of its subjects blind obedience to such a course on pain of damnation.

I cannot acquiesce in such an interpretation. In this epistle, the apostle, after a full, methodical exposition of the doctrines of the gospel, comes in the twelfth chapter to give its practical exhortations, and proceeds to speak, among others, of duties toward enemies, and of a proper course relative to the pagan government under which they were placed. The subject of duty toward pagan rulers was to them a question of much difficulty and great practical importance. It had been a matter of vehement controversy among the Jews; and the converted Romans, also, would feel an interest in the theme, when they became worshippers of the God of the Jews. The Pharisees held strenuously to the doctrine, that no king should be over them but one of their own nation. This they derived from the Law of Moses; while the Sadducees, and especially the Herodians, held quite a different sentiment. Connected as religions were, both Jewish and pagan, with the State, the Herodians taught that it was right, when pagan rule prevailed, to practise pagan worship in obedience to the pagan magistrate. However this may have been, we know that the Pharisees fitted out a deputation of their own disciples and of Herodians, that between the teachings of the two they might ensnare Jesus on the subject of tribute-paying to Cæsar as a pagan prince. Paul, exhorting the Roman Christians on this subject, founds his instructions on the broad principle of the universal, all-pervading providence of God. On the subject of rulers, his instructions may be understood thus: "Let (admit) every soul (Jew or converted Roman) be subject to the higher powers; for there is no power but of God (none of Jupiter). The powers that be (the present existing powers) are ordained of God. Who-soever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God (his providential arrangement). And they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation (condemnation, punishment, by the ruler). For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou, then, not be afraid of the power? Do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same; for he is the minister of God (providentially God's organ) to thee for good. But if thou do evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword (instrument of government) in vain. For he is the minister of God (providentially so), a revenger (punisher) to execute wrath (penalty) on him that doth evil. Wherefore (from these facts it is apparent) ye must

needs be subject, not only for wrath but also for conscience' sake (not only to avoid punishment, but also for the consciousness of doing that which is good, and avoiding that which is evil). For this cause pay ye tribute, also, for he is God's minister (providential agent), attending continually on this very thing (and so is entitled to support). Render, therefore, unto all (whether Christian or pagan), their due," etc.

To me it is, indeed, mysterious how this passage can be understood by good men to clothe not only Nero and his deputies, for they were the persons designated by the parable, "the powers that be," but also governments of every land and every age down to the present time, with divine authority, and their edicts with divine sanction. Nor do I learn at what point they have fixed the limit of this divine sanction, or, to use the language of an eminent author, "this inherent divine life and power above and beyond the life and power of the people." Where, from the Emperor of China or the Czar of Russia, to the Indian Chief or the Hottentot Prince, can be fixed a tangible limit of this sanction? Where between National, State, County, or Town authority? Where between the hereditary monarch, the elected functionary, or the usurper whose authority is asserted and confirmed by the sword, shall the discrimination rest? Or shall all these be regarded as legitimate heirs to this divine authority?

Let us, also, look at the extent of the alleged divine right. It is regarded, I believe, as extending over the lives, liberty, and property of subjects in accordance with the laws of war, and consequently has the power to justify subjects in prosecuting its work of carnage and devastation. Accordingly, Vattel in his "Law of Nations," says, "Every man, capable of bearing arms, should take them up at the first order of him who has the power of making war. Military men, officers and soldiers, all by whom the sovereign makes war, are only instruments in his hands. They prosecute his will, not their own; they are not responsible. The arms and all the apparatus are only instruments of an inferior order." Thus are the prerogatives of God infringed by the laws of war. Those who would concede such power to magistrates on scripture authority, should come out, and without disguise define its limits and character, and adduce scripture proof, or else regard this "inherent divine life in the State distinct from, above, and beyond, the life and power of the citizens of the State," in the light of a pagan duty, and all its array of claims as sheer mythology.

It is true, in the passage we have considered in Romans, the apostle uses the strong language, "ordained of God," "He is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath," etc; but when we remember this language was used to contradict a sentiment then and there prevalent, that Roman authority and laws claimed their authority from Jupiter, we cannot wonder that the apostle not only made the declaration, "*There is no power but of God,*" but that he also amplified the thought in the strong language quoted. It is in accordance with his style of writing in all his epistles. Note a few expressions. "I protest unto you, if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. . . . Every creature of God is good, and nothing to be refused, if received with thanksgiving.

. . . Let those who have wives be as they that have them not. . . . Servants, obey in all things, your masters according to the flesh, not with eye service as men-pleasers, but with singleness of heart, fearing God. . . . Do it heartily, as to the Lord, and not unto men." Isolated passages might thus be quoted indefinitely, and perverted to sinister purposes, without forcing their literal reading; yet, when taken in their connection, they teach no error, and afford no embarrassment.

I have thus dwelt on this subject, because nationality and its laws are great obstacles to the cause of peace; because the gospel is the appropriate and appointed means of removing such obstacles; because the Christian church, with the ministry at its head, are the proper agents for this work; and because a popular interpretation of this passage in Romans and a few kindred passages has long served to counteract these agencies, and thus thwart the efforts of the friends of peace, and the general influences of the gospel in its behalf. This concatenation of influences must be broken before the cause of the Prince of peace can predominate. War and Christianity, the church and the kings of the Gentiles, whose maxims and practices the Saviour condemned, the precepts of the gospel, and the laws of nations, are repulsive to each other in their very elements, and cannot flourish together, nor dwell in harmony. If such interpretations and such laws be invulnerable, our labor in the cause of peace is lost. If not, we must storm their castle.

B.

MIDDLEBURY, VT.

SCENE AT ATLANTA. — A correspondent says, "The scene around the depot at Atlanta for days previous to its final abandonment was heart-rending in the extreme. Old age and tottering infancy huddled together, awaiting their chance of escape. Men who were almost millionnaires a short time since were now reduced to a few dollars, and eagerly sought to fly from the tender mercies of the Southern soldiers. It was a sad scene; home-ties, home-associations, were all severed. Some, too old or sickly to travel, had to remain at home, and wrung their hands and wept as they parted from their children, who preferred struggling for their subsistence in safety than await the unbridled insolence of rude guerrillas and rebel bands. The rush was so great that it took some days to get them all off, and some of the railroad employees, it is said, made a rich harvest out of their sufferings. The poor people were so scared with the thought of being left behind that some gave their last dollar as a bribe to get away."

MONEY NOT THE GREATEST POWER. — Its influence is great, but its power is on the whole over-estimated. The greatest things which have been done for the world have not been accomplished by rich men, or by subscription-lists, but by men generally of small pecuniary means. Christianity was propagated over half the world by men of the poorest class; and the greatest thinkers, discoverers, inventors, and artists have been men of moderate wealth, many of them little raised above the condition of manual laborers in point of worldly circumstances. So has it ever been, and so it always will be.

DEMOCRACY AND PEACE:

EDWARD EVERETT ON THE LATE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION.

THE cause of peace, aiming only to supersede the war-system as an immemorial arbiter of disputes between nations, looks at their form of government solely with reference to its bearings upon this single point. Whether monarchical, aristocratic, or republican, they all alike need the general system of pacification and international justice for which we plead, and will in time unite, we trust, in adopting it in place of the sword. As the current of events and influences is so steadily drifting the civilized world toward popular government in some form, or a material relaxation of monarchy and aristocracy in favor of the people, we cannot help feeling a deep interest in the practical workings of the former. We must own that democracy has been in past ages fiercely war-like, and our bitter experience for the last few years has tended to shake so much our confidence in its peaceful tendencies that we are glad to find a statesman so able and experienced as Mr. Everett, speaking of the late election in such terms as the following:—

“ Never before has been held an election throughout a territory like that which stretches from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean, organized in twenty-three republican States associated in one federative republican union, meeting on the same day in their respective towns, cities, and villages throughout the land, with such mighty issues at stake; an election held after the agitations of a strenuous canvass, amidst the feverous excitement and under the heavy burdens of war, and that a civil war which has clothed almost every family in the country in mourning; an election held under such circumstances, without the display of military force, without tumult or violence, without so much as a riot at the polls which has come to the knowledge of the public, and resulting in the re-election of the Chief Magistrate of this imperial democracy, that I must own, in my judgment, stands without a parallel in history at the height of the moral sublime.

Nor is the sequel of this great civic act less grand and auspicious than its consummation. A contested election certainly does not often present a free country in the most favorable light. From the asperity of the canvass, one might have anticipated at its close that the successful party would break out into extravagant exultation, and the unsuccessful party give loud vent to the anger and bitterness of defeat. But far otherwise; with rare exceptions on the part of individuals and presses, the victors have evinced a patriotic moderation, to which their opponents have responded by magnanimous acquiescence. We may therefore reasonably calculate on the efforts of good men, on all sides, to restore to our beloved and bleeding country the only thing that is now wanting to put an end to this fratricidal war and bring about an honorable and a permanent peace; viz., an era of good feeling and ‘a determined unity of sentiment’ on the part of the loyal States. Providence has laid upon our generation the solemn duty of maintaining this angust nationality, and we have now to choose between allowing the

Union, like mediæval Germany and Italy, to be broken up into scores, I might say hundreds of petty States, involved in eternal border wars, wasting, desolating, and barbarizing each other, and ending at last in the establishment of half a dozen military despotisms, or maintaining, at whatever cost and by whatever sacrifice, this admirable frame-work of government, the rich legacy of our fathers, the priceless heritage of our children, and which, till this cruel rebellion had showed itself, the happiest device of human wisdom, by which the home-bred blessings of local administration can be combined with the safety and power of a great empire."

DISRUPTION OF OUR REPUBLIC PERPETUAL WAR.

THE VIEWS OF SENATOR SUMNER.

FOREIGNERS, even those most friendly to us, have seemed to think it strange that we would not let our rebels leave the Union without resistance or complaint. You have, say they, territory enough for half a dozen kingdoms or republics, an area nearly equal to all Europe; and why can you not make a peaceful, equitable division, and let Freedom on one side, and Slavery on the other, have a fair chance to work out their legitimate results? You certainly have room enough for such an experiment; and why not let your slaveholders try it in peace? Why risk so fearful a sacrifice of property, life, and happiness just to hold all your States in a Union which so many now abhor with a bitterness so intense and seemingly incurable? In answer to these questions, we will quote Senator SUMNER, in his speech delivered in the city of New York, Nov. 5, 1864, entitled, *Slavery and the Rebellion, one and inseparable*:—

"The present war is simply a conflict between Slavery and Liberty. This is a plain statement, which will defy contradiction. To my mind it is more satisfactory than that other statement, which is often made, that it is a conflict between Aristocracy and Democracy. This in a certain sense is true; but from its generality it is less effective than a more precise and restricted statement. It does not disclose the whole truth; for it does not exhibit the unique and exceptional character of the pretension which we combat. For centuries there has been a conflict between Aristocracy and Democracy, or, in other words, the few on one side have been perpetually striving to rule and oppress the many. But now for the first time in the world's annals a people professing civilization has commenced war to uphold the intolerable pretension to *compel labor without wages*, and that most disgusting incident, the whipping of women and the selling of children. Call these pretenders aristocrats or oligarchs if you will; but do not forget that their aristocracy or oligarchy is the least respectable of any ever attempted, and if you would find a prototype in brutality, you must turn your back upon civilized history, and

repair to those distant islands which witnessed an oligarchy of cannibals, or go to barbarous Africa, which has been kept in barbarism by an oligarchy of men-stealers.

It is thus a question of liberty throughout the world. The conflict is directly between Slavery and Liberty ; but because slavery aims at the life of the Republic, the conflict involves our national existence, and because our national death would be the despair of Liberty everywhere, it involves this great cause throughout the world. And yet I would not for one moment lose sight of the special enemy. Slavery, a disturber from the beginning, is now a red-handed traitor. I do not travel back before the Revolution ; but, starting from that great event, I show you Slavery always offensive, and forever thrusting itself in the path of national peace and honor. The Declaration of Independence, as originally prepared by Jefferson, contained a vigorous passage denouncing King George for his patronage of the slave-trade. The slave-masters insisted upon striking it out, and it was struck out ; and here was their first victory. At the adoption of the Federal Constitution they insisted upon the recognition of the slave-trade as the condition of the Union ; and here was another victory. In the earliest Congress under the Constitution, they commenced the menace of disunion, and this menace was continued at every turn of public affairs, especially at every proposition or even petition touching Slavery, until it triumphed signally in that atrocious Fugitive Slave Bill, which made all the Free States a hunting-ground for slaves. Throughout these contests Slavery was vulgar, brutal, savage, while its braggart orators and chaplains heralded its claims. Hogarth, in his famous picture of Bruin, painted Slavery when he portrayed an immense grizzly bear hugging, as if he loved it, an enormous gnarled bludgeon, with a brand of infamy labelled on every knot, such as *Lie Twelve*, *Lie Fifteen*, and about his throat a clerical band, torn, crumpled and awry. In the States where it flourished, speech and press were both despoiled of their freedom, and the whole country seemed to be fast sinking under its degrading tyranny. Everything in science, or history, or church, or state, was bent to its support. There was a new political economy, which taught the superiority of slave labor ; a new ethnology, which excluded the slave from the family of man ; a new heraldry, which admitted the slave-master to the list of nobles ; a new morality, which vindicated the rightfulness of Slavery ; a new religion, which recognized Slavery as a missionary enterprise ; a new theodicy, which placed Slavery under the sanctions of divine benevolence ; and a new Constitution, which installed Slavery in the very citadel of our liberties. By such strange inventions the giant felony fortified itself. At last it struck at the pioneers of Liberty in Kansas. There was its first battle. The next was when it took up arms against the National Government, and rallied all its forces in bloody rebellion. Thus is this Rebellion, by unquestionable pedigree, derived from Slavery, and the parent lives in the offspring. If, therefore, you are in earnest against the Rebellion, you must be in earnest, also, against Slavery ; for the two are synonymous or convertible terms. The Rebellion is nothing but Slavery in arms. It is belligerent Slavery.

Just glance at the impossibility of any peaceful settlement except by submission to the government. Even should you agree to abandon the patriots and the slaves in the Rebel States, you will only begin your infinite difficulties. How will you determine the boundary-line which is to cleave this continent in twain? Where shall the god Terminus be allowed to plant his altar? What States shall be left at the North in the light of Liberty? What States shall be consigned to the gloom of Slavery? Surely, no swiftness to surrender can make you surrender Maryland, now redeemed by the votes of citizen soldiers; nor West Virginia, admitted as a Free State into the Union; nor Missouri, which has been made the dark and bloody ground. And how about Kentucky, Tennessee, and Louisiana? There, also, is the Mississippi, now once more free from its fountains to the sea. Surely, this mighty river will not again be compelled to wear chains.

These inquiries simply open the difficulties to be encountered in this endeavor. If there were any natural boundary, constituting in itself a barrier and an altar, or if during long generations any Chinese Wall had been built for fifteen hundred miles across the continent, then perhaps there might be a dividing line. But nature and history, by solemn decrees, have fixed it otherwise, and have marked this broad land, from the Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, for one country, with one liberty, one constitution, and one destiny.

But if the boundary-line were settled, then will arise the many-headed question of terms and conditions. On what terms and conditions can peace be stipulated? The exulting rebels, whose new empire is founded on the corner-stone of slavery, will naturally exact promises for the rendition of fugitive slaves. Are you, who have just emancipated yourselves from this obligation, ready to renew it, and to repeat again an inexpiable crime? But if you do not, how can you expect peace? Then it will remain to determine the commercial relations between the two separate governments, with rights of transit and travel. If you think that rebels, flushed with success, and scorning their defeated opponents, will come to any practical terms, — any terms which will not leave our commerce and all who are engaged in it exposed to outrage, — you place a trust in their moderation which circumstances thus far do not justify. The whole idea is little better than an excursion to the moon in a car drawn by geese, as described by the Spanish poet.

Long before the war, and especially in the discussions which preceded it, these rebels were fiery and most unscrupulous. War has not made them less so. The moral sense which they wanted when it began has not been enkindled since. With such a people there is no chance of terms and conditions, except according to their lawless will. The first surrender on our part will be the signal to a long line of surrenders, each of which will be a catastrophe. Nothing will be too unreasonable or grinding. If our own national debt is not repudiated, theirs at least must be assumed.

But suppose the shameful sacrifice consummated, the impossible boundaries adjusted, and the illusive terms and conditions stipulated, do you imagine that you have obtained peace! Alas! no, nothing of the sort.

You may call it peace ; but it will be war in disguise, ready to break forth in perpetual, chronic, bloody battle. Such an extended inland border, over which Slavery and Liberty will scowl at each other, will be a constant temptation, not only to enterprises of smuggling, but to hostile incursions, so that our country will be obliged to sleep on its arms, ready to spring forward in self-defence. Every frontier town will be a St. Albans. Military preparations, absorbing the resources of the people, will become permanent instead of temporary, and the arts of peace will yield to the arts of war. The national character will be changed, and this hospitable continent, instead of being the prosperous home of the poor and friendless, thronging from the Old World, will become a repulsive scene of confusion and strife, while "each new day a gash is added to her wounds."

Have we not war enough now ? Are you so enamored of funerals, where the order of nature is reversed, and parents follow their children to the grave, that you are willing to keep a constant carnival for death ? Oh ! no, you all desire peace ; but there is only one way to secure it. *You must so conduct the present war that, when once ended, there shall be no remaining element of discord*, no surviving principle of battle, out of which future war can spring. Above all, belligerent Slavery must not be allowed to rear its crest, as an independent power.

But there is another consequence which must not be omitted. War would not be confined to the two governments representing respectively the two hostile principles, Slavery and Liberty ; it would rage with internecine fury among ourselves. Admit that States may fly out of the Union ; and where will you stop ? Other States may follow, it may be in groups, or it may be singly, until our mighty galaxy is broken into separate stars, or dissolved into the nebular compost of a people without form or name. Where, then, is country ? Where will be those powerful States which are now the pride of civilization, and the hope of mankind ? Handed over to ungovernable frenzy, without check or control, until anarchy and chaos are supreme.

The picture is terrible ; but it hardly exaggerates the fearful disorder. Already our European enemies, looking to their desires for inspiration, predict a general discord. Sometimes it is said that there are to be four or five new-nations ; that the Northwest is to be a nation by itself, the Middle States another, the Pacific States another, and our New England States still another, so that rebel Slavery will be the predominant power on this continent. But it is useless to speculate on the number of these fractional governments. If disunion is allowed to begin, it cannot be stopped. Misrule and confusion will be everywhere. Our fathers saw this at the adoption of the National Constitution, when, in a rude sketch of the time, they pictured the thirteen States as so many staves, which were bound by the hoops into a barrel. Let a single stave be taken out, and the whole barrel falls to pieces. It is easy to see how this must occur with States. The triumph of the Rebellion will be not only the triumph of belligerent Slavery ; but it will be also the triumph of State Rights, to this extent, first, that any State, in the exercise of its own lawless will, may abandon its place in the Union ; and, secondly, that the constitutional verdict of

the majority, as in the election of Abraham Lincoln, is not binding. With these two rules of conduct, in conformity with which the Rebellion was organized, there can be no limit to disunion. Therefore, when you consent to the independence of the Rebel States, you disband the whole company of States, and blot our country from the map of the world.

SUCCESS IN SUPPRESSING THE REBELLION.—The rebel leaders have talked at home and abroad just as if they had been signally successful, and were on the eve of securing their whole object. But a few facts will show the progress of the contest up to October, 1864: "The area of loyal territory in 1860 was 1,800,600 square miles. The area rescued from rebels, and restored to the United States, is 856,001 square miles. The area still in rebel hands is only 346,390 square miles. In three and a half years we have rescued more than two thirds of all they claimed when they began the war."

OUR NATIONAL FINANCES.—From the Report of the Treasury we gather the following abstract:—

Receipts from all sources in the year ending July 1,	
1864, including balance and loans,.....	\$1,394,796,007
Disbursements meanwhile,	1,298,056,101
Balance,	\$96,739,906

Deducting debt redeemed, and issues substituted therefor, the actual cash operations are, —

Receipts,.....	\$884,076,646
Payments,	865,234,087
Balance in Treasury,	\$18,842,559

July 1, 1864, the debt was \$1,740,690,489; Oct. 1, it exceeded 2,000,000,000, and the President in his annual message says, if the war continues another year, it is likely to reach \$2,500,000,000.

How strikingly and sadly does such an *expose* contrast with the antecedent economy of our government. The administration of John Quincy Adams spent, less than forty years ago, an average of only about twelve millions a year; but here we have \$865,000,000 a year, more than seventy times as much! What proficients in prodigality have we suddenly become! If we go

on at this rate, the wildest exaggeration can hardly conceive where we shall finally land. What strange, startling changes have four short years of war wrought in our habits! More money wasted in this brief space than would suffice, by its bare interest, for the world's evangelization! Still do the mass of Christians treat this whole question as if it had little to do with the great work of saving a lost race.

LARGE ARMIES. — The army of Terah, King of Ethiopia, consisted of 1,000,000 men and 300 chariots of war. Sesostris, King of Egypt, led against his enemies 600,000 men, 24,000 cavalry, and twenty-seven scythe-armed chariots, 1491, B. C. Hamilcar went from Carthage, and landed near Palermo. He had a fleet of 2,000 ships and 3,000 small vessels, and a land force of 300,000 men. At the battle in which he was defeated, 150,000 were slain. A Roman fleet, led by Regulus against Carthage, consisted of 330 vessels, with 140,000 men. The Carthaginian fleet numbered 350 vessels, with 150,000 men. At the battle of Cannæ there were of the Romans, including allies, 80,000 foot and 6,000 horse; of the Carthaginians 40,000 foot and 10,000 horse; of these, 70,000 were slain in all, and 10,000 taken prisoners. Hannibal, during his campaign in Italy and Spain plundered 400 towns, and destroyed 300,000 men. Italy, a little before Hannibal's time, was able to send into the field nearly 1,000,000 men. Semiramis employed 2,000,000 men in building the mighty Babylon. She took 100,000 Indian prisoners at the Indus, and sunk 1,000 boats. Sennacherib lost in a single night 185,000 men by the destroying angel. — 2 Kings xix, 35-37. A short time after the taking of Babylon, the forces of Cyrus consisted of 600,000 foot, 120,000 horse, and 2,000 chariots armed with scythes. An army of Cambyses, 50,000 strong, was buried up in the desert sand of Africa by a south wind. When Xerxes arrived at Thermopylæ, his land and sea forces amounted to 2,641,610, exclusive of servants, eunuchs, women, sutlers, etc.; in all numbering 5,483,320. So say Herodotus, Plutarch, and Isocrates. The army of Artaxerxes, before the battle of Cunaxa, amounted to about 1,000,000. Ten thousand horses and 100,000 foot fell on the fatal field of Issus. When Jerusalem was taken by Titus, 1,100,000 perished in various ways. The force of Darius at Arbela numbered more than 1,000,000. The Persians lost 90,000 men in this battle; Alexander about 500. So says Diodorus. Arian says the Persians in this battle lost 300,000; the Greeks 1200. The army of Tamerlane is said to have amounted to 1,600,000, and that of his antagonist, Bajazet, to 1,400,000.

Such have been for long ages the world's great butchers and butcheries. What a commentary upon the suicidal folly and madness of mankind! Yet such are the chief materials that make up the world's history and glory.

but from the characteristics of the different diseases, the revelations of the post-mortem examination, and especially, and most conclusively of all, the invariable treatment which proved most efficacious; namely, not medication, but simple nutrition and stimulation. They all agreed in attributing the condition of the men to one or more of the following causes: Deprivation of clothing; insufficient food, in quantity and quality; want of fresh air on account of over-crowding; consequent and unavoidable uncleanness; want of adequate shelter during the fall and winter; and mental depression the natural result of all.

These views are fully confirmed by statements under oath by several surgeons, and a multitude of officers and soldiers. It is impossible for any unprejudiced mind to doubt the general correctness of the report made by this Commission.

EXCUSES FOR SUCH TREATMENT.—It has been said that the rebel government was itself embarrassed for want of supplies, that its own soldiers were naked and hungry, and that even the prison guards shared the privations of the prisoners. This excuse, urged strenuously by their friends, accounts, after all, for only a small portion of the conduct of the rebels to their captives.

The Commissioners from the outset considered this department of their investigation to be fully as important as the other, and were at equal pains to leave it no longer a matter of doubt whether or not the rebel government was unable to provide their prisoners with food and clothing, good and sufficient. One fact was evident on the face of things, that no army could have endured such forced and violent marches, the fatigues and exposures of such desperate campaigning, and have kept up a spirit for such indomitable fighting, unless they had been well-equipped, and their physical condition had been maintained by every means, medical and commissary, known in a well-regulated army.

But no testimony on this point can be so satisfactory as that derived from the rebel soldiers themselves. Several of the Commissioners went directly from Annapolis to Washington for the express purpose of visiting and examining the rebel prisoners. They found a large number at the Lincoln Hospital. Although these prisoners were suffering from wounds received in the late battles of the Wilderness and Spottsylvania, they were in a physical condition which alone was evidence enough of the care that had been taken of them by their own government. In every case they were healthy, hardy, vigorous men. There was scarcely a trace even of the fatigue they had so recently endured. Better than all, as an indication of their condition, their wounds were healing as only the wounds of men in perfect health can heal. Nine out of the whole number were examined under oath. The formal testimony stopped at this number, as it was found, by conversation, that all had the same account to give, and it was needless to multiply depositions. They came from six of the principal States of the Confederacy. The result of the whole amounts to this: In the words of one of them, "They had nothing to complain of in the way of food and clothing." They were

supplied with rations only a few ounces less than the over-generous ration of the United States army. The quality of the ration was as satisfactory to the rebels as the quantity. The corn-bread was excellent, made by themselves from fine meal. One of them naively observed that he preferred it to Northern meal! They had never had any meal furnished them of that quality which was ground with the cobs and husks, and in which whole grains of corn occasionally appeared. This inferior kind, they said, was "given to stock." In winter they lived in cabins or tents, well warmed, and well supplied with fuel. None ever suffered from the cold. In summer they were sheltered by tents, but these they left behind when on a campaign. They were fully supplied with clothing and with blankets or oil-cloths. A requisition on the quartermaster could always procure any article that was necessary. When engaged in active service, however, they carried as little as possible, only the clothes they had on and a single blanket, but no man was restricted as to the amount he might carry. It may be imagined what a condition they were in under this system, as respects dirt, vermin, and rags, after a long campaign and a pitched battle. They describe the hospitals, both in the city and the field, as comfortable, and with sufficient medical attendance.

From all this it appears that the Southern army has been, ever since its organization, completely equipped in all necessary respects, and that the men have been supplied with everything which would keep them in the best condition of mind and body for the hard and desperate service in which they were engaged. They knew nothing of famine or freezing. Their wounded and sick were never neglected. The conclusion is inevitable. It was in their power to feed sufficiently, and to clothe, whenever necessary, their prisoners of war. They were perfectly able to include them in their military establishment; but they chose to exclude them from the position always assigned to such, and in no respect to treat them like men taken in honorable warfare. Their commonest soldier was never compelled by hunger to eat the disgusting rations furnished at the Libby to United States officers. Their most exposed encampment, however temporary, never beheld the scenes of suffering which occurred daily and nightly among United States soldiers in the encampment on Belle Isle. The excuse and explanation are swept away.

WAS THIS TREATMENT OF FEDERAL PRISONERS INTENTIONAL?—This question the Commission are reluctantly forced to answer in the affirmative, — a conclusion every one must come to who carefully weighs the testimony. Every doubt and misgiving successfully disappears. No other theory will cover the immensity and variety of that system of abuse to which our soldiers are subjected. That abuse is, in all its forms, too general, too uniform, and too simultaneous to be otherwise than the result of a great arrangement. One prison-station is like another; one hospital resembles another hospital. This has been especially apparent by intelligence that has reached the public just as this investigation is closing, and this report is being written. The remote prison at Tyler, in Texas, sends

out a tale of suffering, identical with that described in these pages. It was only a few weeks ago, that the streets of New Orleans beheld a regiment of half-starved and half-naked men, who had just been released from that station. Still more heart-rending is the later account, given in a memorial to the president, from Andersonville, Georgia, and in the full description, verified on oath, of what is now being suffered there by the imprisoned soldiers of our army. It would appear to be Belle Isle five times enlarged, and tenfold intensified. An enormous multitude of thirty-five thousand men are crowded together in a square enclosure or stockade of about twenty-five acres, with a noxious swamp at the centre, occupying one-fourth of the whole space. Here the prisoners suffer, not only the privations already mentioned, but others peculiar to circumstances of a worse description. In this pestilential prison they are dying at the rate of one hundred and thirty a day, *on an average*!

It is the same story everywhere, — prisoners of war treated worse than convicts, shut up either in suffocating buildings, or in outdoor enclosures, without even the shelter that is provided for the beasts of the field; unsupplied with sufficient food; supplied with food and water injurious and even poisonous; compelled to live in such personal uncleanness as to generate vermin; compelled to sleep on floors, often covered with human filth, or on ground saturated with it; compelled to breathe an air oppressed with an intolerable stench; hemmed in by a fatal dead-line, and in hourly danger of being shot by unrestrained and brutal guards; despondent even to madness, idiocy, and suicide; sick of diseases (so congruous in character as to appear and spread like the plague) caused by the torrid sun, by decaying food, by filth, by vermin, by malaria, and by cold; removed at the last moment, and by hundreds at a time, to hospitals corrupt as a sepulchre, there, with a few remedies, little care, and no sympathy, to die in wretchedness and despair, not only among strangers, but among enemies too resentful to have pity or to show mercy. These are positive facts. Tens of thousands of helpless men have been, and are now being disabled and destroyed by a process as certain as poison, and as cruel as the torture or burning at the stake, because nearly as agonizing and more prolonged. This spectacle is daily beheld and allowed by the rebel government. No supposition of negligence, or thoughtlessness, or indifference, or accident, or inefficiency, or destitution, or necessity, can account for all this. So many and such positive forms of abuse and wrong cannot come from negative causes.

The conclusion is unavoidable, therefore, that "these privations and sufferings" have been "designedly inflicted by the military and other authority of the rebel government," and cannot have been "due to causes which such authorities could not control."

Well do the Commissioners say, "that whatever abuses may have been developed on the Northern side of this war, none of them were originated or sanctioned by the government. In every case they have been the impulsive acts of subordinates here and there; and such are incident to any conflict. The noble and magnanimous manner in which the Government treats the enemies to its peace and prosperity, when they have become helpless prisoners in its hands, is, alone, a suffi-

cient manifestation of the spirit which animates it in waging this war. No sentiment of anger or resentment has actuated it from the beginning. The condition of its prison stations and hospitals is the best and proudest exponent of the cause of humanity which it seeks to maintain. This praise will be awarded it by the historian and by posterity, when the story of this stupendous struggle shall be written."

OUR TREATMENT OF REBEL PRISONERS. — On this point a superabundance of testimony is given, all revealing an impressive contrast, point for point, with that which has just been narrated, and has turned out to be entirely confirmatory of what Quartermaster-General Meigs declares, "that such prisoners are treated with all the consideration and kindness that might be expected of a humane and Christian people." The design of the Government is fully exhibited in the circular orders issued by Col. Hoffman, Commissary-General of prisoners. The ration was to be generous and abundant; its elements of the fullest variety. The amount issued being greater than a man could consume, the excess over that which was given was to go to the formation of a prison fund, which was to be applied in various ways, that would promote the health and comfort of the prisoners. Army clothing was to be furnished by requisition, whenever needed, the only difference being that the buttons and trimmings were to be taken from the coats, and the skirts cut so short that the captives should not be mistaken for United States soldiers. Careful accounts were to be kept of the money and valuables taken from each prisoner, which accounts were to accompany him, if transferred from one post to another, and when paroled, the articles were to be returned. They were to be permitted to correspond with their friends. All articles that were sent to them were to be delivered, if not contraband.

The hospital had its separate provisions. The keepers in charge were to be "responsible to the commanding officer for its good order, and the proper treatment of the sick." A fund for each hospital was to be created, as in other United States hospitals, and to be expended for the comfort of the sick, and "objects indispensably necessary to promote the sanitary condition of the hospital." The minute directions of the entire order look equally to the security of the prisoners, and to all that is necessary for them in health or sickness. The Commissioners are able to testify that the order is fully carried out. They took pains not only to procure evidence as to the fact, but to see for themselves. Two members came, without previous notice, to the Lincoln hospital in Washington; and though arriving at an unseasonable hour, they were instantly admitted, with marked and cordial courtesy, by Chief Surgeon McKee, upon his learning the mission upon which they had come. The wards were airy and neat, free from offensive odor, the beds so clean that the visitors sat upon them while taking testimony. The men themselves were cheerful and good-natured, the more slightly wounded crowding up curiously to know what was going on until requested to retire. Some were sitting by their beds reading novels or odd numbers of periodicals, now and then a Bible. They were always ready to converse, and answered the questions that were put to them without hesitation. The visitors could see no difference

in these two wards from the twenty or more others in the same hospital that were appropriated to the United States soldiers. The patients were mostly in clean, white under-clothing, and if it had not been for a figure in butternut-colored uniform here and there, nothing would have suggested the presence of an enemy. The wounds were being tenderly unbandaged and dressed by the surgeons and their assistants. Kindness and attention were visible everywhere. Female nurses and a white-hooded Sister of Charity were constantly moving from bed to bed. One of them was seen carrying a waiter of iced porter to the wounded, and holding the glass to the lips of the more helpless. The spectacle was in remarkable contrast with that described by Dr. Ferguson, only the evening before, as witnessed by him in Hospital No. 21, Richmond, where our soldiers lay amid the secretions of their body, and the purulent discharges of their wounds, dying of neglect, and for want of the commonest medical attention.

A great mass of evidence is given which we cannot copy. The contrast must have been overwhelming at the point to which this narrative has now come. When the flag-of-truce boat landed within the rebel lines, the two systems confronted each other. On one side, hundreds of feeble, emaciated men, ragged, filthy, hungry, diseased, and dying; on the other, an equal number of strong and hearty men, clad in the army clothing of the Government against which they had fought, having been humanely sheltered, fed, cleansed of dirt, cured of wounds and disease, and now honorably returned to fight that Government again. The public sentiment of the North, outraged as it may have been, would never have permitted any other than this Christian and magnanimous course.

EFFECT OF THE WAR ON MORALS. — We have read and heard, *usque ad nauseam*, about the benign and glorious influences to be expected from this conflict upon the general character of our people. We have hitherto said little on this point; but to say nothing about rebeldom of which we have had still worse reports, take this specimen of New York, given by one of its citizens near the close of 1864: —

“Our city was never so badly governed as now. Our city government has no more efficiency than a broomstick. Incendiary fires blaze in all parts of the city. The fact that a man can carry materials in his pocket to burn down one of our largest hotels shows how difficult protection is. One hour a hay-barge is on fire. The next a ship is burning on the stocks. The next a burning fuse is taken from the berth of a Sound steamboat. Now, a lumber-yard is on fire. Then a citizen picks up bottles of phosphorus and turpentine, with resin, under his dining-room floor. Our city is infested with gangs of murderers, burglars, and incendiaries. Parts of New York have always been considered unsafe at night for men alone, but Broadway could be walked at midnight as safely as at noonday. Now men are robbed in sight of the great hotels of Broadway early in the evening.

Stabbing appears to be a favorite pastime. Proximity, not provocation, is

desired by desperadoes. Men have been stabbed within two or three days while standing on the sidewalk waiting for a stage. Robbery is usually added to the assault. The whole is the work of a minute,—the stabbing, the robbery, and the escape. A man wants strong nerves to walk in the city at night after ten o'clock. Riding with one person only in an omnibus is not much better. All sorts of remedies are proposed. Arming the citizens as patrolling bands is one remedy. If our municipal force cannot protect us, martial law must come. We are afflicted with a desperate disease. Rebels and rebel sympathizers are counted by thousands in our midst. They are here to do the work of their masters, as really as Lee's soldiers before Richmond. We need a desperate remedy."

ENGLISH RELIGIOUS CHARITIES.—The most prominent received in 1863, were the following sums:—

Foreign Missions.....	£518,645
Colonial and Continental Missions.....	40,038
Home Missions.....	149,369
Educational Societies.....	44,623
Jewish Societies.....	43,597
Miscellaneous Societies.....	145,093
British and Foreign Bible Society.....	168,905

£1,110,470

Here we find British Christians giving, as only a part of their contributions to such objects, more than five millions of dollars a year. It seems a very large sum; but the whole does not equal a single day's cost and waste on both sides of our great rebellion, nor the hundredth part of what the Christians alone in Christendom have to pay in support of its war-system in a time of peace.


WOMAN'S TESTIMONY AGAINST WAR.—There is no end to the motives which should constrain them to oppose it. It has inflicted on them a world of evils. I know we are required to take no active part in its prosecution; yet we are still among its deepest sufferers. It seems to take little of our money; but its enormous taxes keep millions of our sisters on the brink of starvation from year to year. True, we go not forth to its battles; but our fathers and brothers, our husbands and sons are compelled to go, and leave not a few of us to want and grief. The sufferings of war are not all heaped upon the battle-field; but for every victim there, many a female heart at home must writhe in anguish. Not a battle can be fought, not the slightest victory won, without sending grief through hundreds, if not thousands of domestic circles. Alas! how many mothers must lose a son; how many wives a husband; how many daughters a father; how many sisters a brother beloved! Here is anguish which no historian records; but, if you would learn the widest, keenest, most incurable sufferings of war, you must go through the land, enter its humblest dwellings, and there behold the disconsolate mother, the heart-broken widow, the lonely, helpless orphan, doomed to want and sorrow that can end only in the grave.


EXEMPTIONS OF PEACE MEN.—The last draft for the army exempts from services strictly martial, persons who have scruples of conscience about bearing arms :—“Members of religious denominations, who shall, by oath or affirmation, declare that they are conscientiously opposed to the bearing of arms, and who are prohibited from doing so by the rules and articles of faith and practice of such religious denomination, shall, when drafted into the military service, be considered non-combatants, and shall be assigned by the Secretary of War to duty in the hospitals, or to the care of freedmen, or shall pay the sum of three hundred dollars, to be applied to the benefit of the sick and wounded soldiers. *Provided*, That no person shall be entitled to the benefit of this section unless his declaration of conscientious scruples against bearing arms shall be supported by satisfactory evidence that his deportment has been uniformly consistent with such declaration.”


DIFFICULTIES FROM THE CONCESSION OF BELLIGERENT RIGHTS TO REBELS.—We are just now experiencing some of the mischiefs always liable, if not sure, to come from conceding belligerent rights to rebels, and showing the wrong and suicidal folly of such concession. Brazil, under the lead of England and France, seems quietly to have conceded such rights to our rebels; and the result is a diplomatic quarrel with that government about the capture of the Florida, one of our rebel pirates, in the port of Bahia, by the Wachusett, one of our war-steamers. Had no such right ever been conceded to our rebels, these criminals might have been brought, as they should have been, to condign punishment for their crimes, not only with the consent, but with the aid of Brazil, and we should have been regarded as performing a praise-worthy service in the cause of good government. The case of the raiders from Canada upon one of our towns (St. Albans, Vt.), is another illustration of the evils to be expected from the practice of sanctioning and abetting a wholesale, irresponsible violation of law under the figment of conceding belligerent rights to rebels in arms against a friendly power. We protest against the principle as wrong and mischievous. We trust that in neither of these cases will it lead to war; but such is the clear tendency and legitimate effect of the principle,—a principle incompatible with the world's permanent peace.

FUNDS.—Our friends will allow us to remind them of what we stated in our last number about our wants. We hope they will now read again that last paragraph, and do the best they can for our cause in this hour of its sorest trial.

☞ We postpone to our next number the list of contributors intended for this.

 **TO EDITORS**—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.


 **TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL**—the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

 Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706.	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196.	75
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252.	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212,	25
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108.	20
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier. 16 mo., pp. 303. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310,	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond. 8vo., pp. 168.	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.,	20
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2 50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12,	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.	
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts. .	

FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of _____ dollars, to be paid in _____ months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. —  Be very careful to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your pose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE.—The law allows only 6 cents a year, quarterly in ad-

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom be addressed all communications designed for the Society.

Mar. 28

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

MARCH AND APRIL.

CONTENTS.

An Antidote to Rebellion.....	229	Poetry: The Soldier to his Children.....	249
Financial Prosperity in War.....	235	Victories of Peace.....	249
Financial Effects of the Rebellion.....	236	How War rends Domestic Affections.....	250
Cost of raising Troops.....	238	The young Affianced.....	250
Retaliation in War.....	239	The Maniac Mother.....	250
Rebel Treatment of Prisoners.....	242	Specimen of English Fairness.....	251
Facts on this Subject.....	242	How Soldiers waste away in War.....	251
The common fate of fallen Soldiers.....	243	Frauds in raising Recruits.....	251
Waste of Rebel Life.....	243	Our Relations with England.....	252
The Dano-German Dispute.....	244	Paper-makers growing rich by War.....	253
Hopeful Signs for Peace.....	246	Crime in this War.....	254
Financial Items.....	247	Louisiana Reconstruction.....	254
Our National Debt.....	247	Apology to Brazil.....	255
Rebel Foreign Debt.....	247	Progress in suppressing Rebellion.....	255
Increase of National Debts.....	247	The Fall of Charleston.....	256
Pensions.....	248	Receipts.....	258
Rebel Money or Credit.....	248	Anniversary.....	260

 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.
CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.
1865.



THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MARCH AND APRIL.

AN ANTIDOTE TO REBELLION.

THE evils of our rebellion are so many and so terrible, that every one must be interested to learn how they might have been averted, and how similar evils in future may be prevented. The question comes home to us all. By this bitter experience we are learning wisdom in a hard, dear school; but it seems we would learn to purpose in no other. We might, but did not. In our fancied security, we slept on till we found ourselves slumbering over a volcano. Such evils as have come upon us, we hardly conceived to be possible; but now we must all see how liable they are to come at any time hereafter; and if there be any means of prevention, they surely ought to be known and applied. We believe there are such means; but their efficacy will depend very much on the time and mode of their application. If not applied in season, they may be of little use. There was a moment when a child's hand might have stopped the fire that laid a village or a city in ashes; but when once fully kindled, and blown into flames, no human power could stay its ravages.

Such is the nature of all reform. It is chiefly a work of prevention, and acts as an antidote rather than a cure. It crushes evil in the bud, in the very root, without allowing it time to grow up into a fatal maturity. Thus where the practice of duelling pre-

vails, we can seldom hope, after arrangements have actually been made for the purpose, to prevent a deadly rencontre; but if you once train an entire community to look with abhorrence upon such a mode of settling disputes, you may in time cure the whole evil. When calm and considerate, everybody admits the suicidal folly of the practice; and if you use the means requisite to recast public opinion on the subject in the right mould, you are morally certain of bringing it in time to an end.

Just so in every reform. The process is slow, but sure. If a man is drunk, you must wait till he is sober before you can ply him to purpose with the arguments of temperance. If a gang of such fellows get up a riot, you must, in the last resort, let the strong hand of the police or even the military deal with them until they are brought to their senses, if not to condign punishment for their crimes, before you can renew your efforts for their reformation; but if you once succeed in training them to habits of entire abstinence from whatever can intoxicate, you at last come, in the only sure way possible, to cure the whole evil.

Such, too, is the Peace Reform. Its single aim is to change not merely the habits of individuals, but a general usage of society, — the practice of nations settling their disputes by the sword. It has just this extent, and no more. It is by no means a specific for *all* social evils, but only for this single one. It deals with only a specified part of them. The relations of men in society are three-fold, — those of individuals to each other, those of citizens to government, and those of one government to another. It is only this last class of relations with which the cause of peace is concerned. It touches directly no other. It does not attempt to say how individuals shall treat each other, or how a government shall deal with its own subjects, what laws it shall enact, or how it shall enforce them. Recognizing civil government as an ordinance of God for the good of mankind, and invested with all the powers necessary to fulfil its beneficent mission, we seek as peace-reformers *merely to change its mode of dealing with other governments*, and even then only to the extent of insisting that it shall settle its disputes with them by other and better means than the sword. We urge them to adopt between themselves a system of rational, peaceful justice, analagous in principle and effect to what they all provide for their own subjects, designed in all disputes to ascertain and enforce what is right between the parties without disturb-

ing the public peace. Such a system, with some appropriate modifications in forms and modes of procedure, we regard as no less applicable to nations than to individuals, and likely in time to supersede entirely the alleged necessity of war for the adjustment of their difficulties. All this would, of course, require a radical change in their habits; and it is the chief work of the peace-reformer to effect such a change as this throughout the civilized world, — a change of opinion and usage that shall gradually train governments, like individuals, to employ only rational, legal, peaceful means for the settlement of their disputes, and to forego all ends that cannot be secured by such means alone.

Now, if such be the drift of efforts in the cause of peace, none can fail to see its *incidental* influence in preventing rebellion. It must act always and everywhere as a direct, effective antidote. No consistent peace-man can ever be a rebel. His principles, habits, and whole character, all compel him to be loyal. He may dislike the government over him in many things; but, while refusing active support of what he deems contrary to the will of God, he still bows without forcible resistance to its authority, and quietly submits to whatever penalties it may choose to inflict for his conscientious, passive disobedience. Such are the habits formed by our cause; and among a people educated in such principles as these, rebellion would be morally impossible.

Put this point to a fair test. How could such men abet or tolerate rebellion? Did you ever hear of Quakers, Moravians, or any other class of peace-men, becoming rebels? They have often been sorely tempted by persecution; but did they in any case arm themselves in bloody resistance to government? The conduct in this respect of Christ, his apostles, and all his early disciples, is known to everybody; nor can you find for ages a single instance where Christians, however misgoverned, stripped of their rights, and ground to the dust under the heel of arbitrary power, ever turned upon their rulers in active rebellion. Christians as a body were then peace-men; and Christianity in its primitive purity was uniformly loyal. Like Peter and John before the Jewish Sanhedrim, it refused at all hazards to do what God forbade; but it drew no sword, lifted not a finger in active resistance against the government over them. Had such a Christianity prevailed all over the South, should we ever have heard of the present rebellion? Would it not have been a clear impossibility?

If you say that no entire community can ever be trained in such habits, we insist that they can be, and ought as Christians to be everywhere. Individuals in large numbers *have* been; and this alone proves that every people *might* be. For the prevention of rebellion, it is not necessary, however desirable it may be for other reasons, to train a community in the strictest principles of peace. Its lowest principles, rightly applied in season, might suffice for this purpose. In the North, even in New England, only a smattering of strict, thorough peace principles can be found among the mass of our people; but there is still enough to hold them back from such a mad plunge as the South made into the bloody whirlpool of rebellion. It has not been for want of provocation; for we of the North have had far more than the South ever had. Our government, for more than fifty years in the hands or the interest of slaveholders, has often injured us in many ways; but we bore it all without one serious thought of appealing in any event to the sword. We resorted to better means, and waited till we could right our wrongs in the peaceful, Christian way of arguments, votes, and other legal, bloodless methods of gaining our ends. Thus might the South have done, and would have done, if they had been trained even in the imperfect habits of peace that prevail in New England. If right, they would in time have been successful, and, if wrong, would have found it for their interest to acquiesce in ultimate defeat rather than resort to the sword. In any event, a legal, peaceful process, such as has always been open to them, would clearly have been best for all parties.

Now, we insist on the necessity and possibility of such habits as these to the permanency of popular government, if not of every other. The question is vital to its very existence; and to this extent at least the principles of peace will be found absolutely indispensable. Unless the people as a body shall be trained in habits of submission to law, and of reliance on legal, peaceful means alone for the attainment of whatever ends they may desire, we shall be perpetually liable to just such evils as are now overwhelming us, and be in imminent danger of ultimately drifting into the maelstrom of a general, irretrievable anarchy. There is no escape from this alternative. The principles underlying the present and every other rebellion must be fatal to all stable government. The dogma of secession, the claim of a right by one portion of a people violently to resist at will the government over

them, strikes a death-blow to its authority, and sets it adrift on a torrent of blood down to perdition. With such habits as have long prevailed at the South, no government can be entirely safe for a day; and if these cannot be changed, our government is doomed, sooner or later, to inevitable and utter ruin. We are sure they *can* be changed; and the only question is, whether we are willing to use the means requisite to effect such a change. It will, of course, require effort, wide and persistent; but we can, if we will, secure it in time, and thus provide for all future ages an effectual antidote against such evils as are now overwhelming us.

Do you, then, ask precisely *what* means must be used? Only such as the Bible prescribes, and requires Christians to employ; such as would give the South, if not our whole country, a new training in this respect, and recast its permanent habits in the mould of the gospel. Our entire people must be educated in habits of peace to the extent at least of discarding all violent resistance in any case to law, and of sustaining government in the exercise of its legitimate authority..

Here is the great work to be done, — a new education in this respect of our entire people. It will, of course, demand great, persistent, ubiquitous effort. We must set at work everywhere the chief agencies and influences that either create or control public opinion. We must enlist every fireside, every common school, all our seminaries of learning from the highest to the lowest, every church, every pulpit, and every press, as habitual, incessant co-workers in elevating the mass of our people to such habits as would spontaneously resist and effectually avert evils like those which are now upon us. This certainly would, but nothing short of this ever can, insure us against the return of similar evils in future.

Here, then, is a sure antidote against rebellion; and the only question is, whether we will take the pains to provide and apply it in season. We can, if we will; but we must count the cost. It cannot be done in an hour, but will require a long series of combined, resolute, persistent efforts by the mass of the community. They must have a new education on this subject; and the antidote, the leaven of prevention, must act through a radical change in their habits. We cannot believe them incorrigible in this or any other aspect. Such a change is clearly possible by God's blessing upon proper means; and once accomplished, we

should make sure of the object we seek,—permanent security against such terrible evils as are now upon us.

Will we, then, pay the price of such a moral insurance against future rebellions? How cheap in contrast with what this single rebellion will have cost! It is quite too early to report the whole amount; but a very small part of the life, property, and moral power already sacrificed would, if spent aright in the cause of peace at the proper time, have sufficed, beyond a question, to avert the deluge of evils poured by this rebellion upon ourselves and the world. The mind shrinks back aghast from a full view of the facts in the case. It would be safe to suppose, that on both sides there has already perished not less than half a million of men, been expended more than \$5,000,000,000, and lost by the sacrifice of life, derangements or suspensions of business, and destruction of property in countless ways, nearly, if not quite, as much more; an appalling total of eight or ten thousand millions of dollars! Had the merest fraction of all this been spent during the last fifty years in training our entire people, North and South, to habits of peace, it is morally certain that this rebellion could never have come; and if we would prevent like evils in future, we must, as our only alternative, use in season the means requisite to give them such a training. It is a question of life or death, not only to our own republic, but to free, popular government through the world for ages, if not through all coming time.

You may say, 'the cause of peace did not prevent rebellion in this case.' True; but why not? It had no chance. The means requisite for the purpose have never been used. The antidote was ready; but we had neglected to apply it in season. We had hardly begun to use the means necessary for a right, effective application of this grand catholicon. In fifty years scarce \$150,000, probably not so much, were expended throughout our country in the cause of peace. From such a mere pittance, could we expect any serious change in the habits of twenty or thirty millions of people? There ought to have been fifty or a hundred times as much spent every year during the last half-century. Had there been, this rebellion could never have come. The habits of the South, no less than those of the North, would have forbidden it. Nobody even there would ever have dreamed of drawing the sword to save or extend slavery.

Now, could money have been put to any better use than this?

The parties in this struggle have spent or lost not less than four millions a day for years ; and the bare interest on half of what it has cost for a single day would, if used in season and aright in the cause of peace during the last fifty years, have sufficed, with moral certainty, to avert all the vast and terrible evils occasioned by this rebellion.

FINANCIAL PROSPERITY IN WAR.

EVERYBODY acquainted with the facts has been surprised at the seeming prosperity so general at the North during the gigantic efforts of our government to suppress the rebellion. Money has been much more plenty than usual, and some have amassed fortunes with fabulous rapidity. These facts are undeniable ; but what do they all prove ? Why, that a state of war, like any great and sudden change, opens to fortunate individuals many opportunities to reap golden harvests. Stocks and many other kinds of property, once extremely depressed, have suddenly risen for the time in value or temporary productiveness, some of them twenty, others fifty, and others even several hundred per cent.

Now, does all this prove a general prosperity ? No more than the profits of the physician and the undertaker during a plague, would prove the community at large to be growing rich from such a scourge. A few at great risks reap a golden harvest from the general calamity. It is pre-eminently so in war ; nor will this rebellion turn out to be an exception to this general rule. Flatter ourselves as we may, neither we nor any other people can ever as a body grow rich as the result of war, but must in fact become poorer and poorer. We marvel how persons of reflection or common sense can reach any other conclusion ; and the fact that so many shrewd business men can talk about our people becoming rich from this war, just shows the extreme delusion to which the passing excitement betrays not a few of our leading men.

Just look at the absurdity of such a supposition. A community, while wasting in the work of mutual mischief and destruction one quarter or third of their entire resources, become rich by such a suicidal process ! The idea is palpably absurd, as we shall all see when we come to find the entire property of the nation mortgaged by the public debt within one third of its whole value to

pay the expense of putting down this huge rebellion. Be it that the object sought is worth far more than it will have cost; this cannot alter the fact of its having wasted so large a part of the country's wealth.

FINANCIAL EFFECTS OF THE REBELLION.

HERE is a boundless theme on which we have hitherto said comparatively little; but the time is surely coming when the whole country will be compelled to think and act aright on it, or plunge into irretrievable ruin. There is no escape from this alternative. The contest, if continued, *must* end sooner or later in the utter exhaustion of one party, if not both; and the only question is, whether they will have wisdom to stop before they reach this point. We fear they will not; nor do we see, indeed, how they can consistently with the ground they have respectively taken. The rebel leaders have staked their all, and our government is confessedly in the agonies of a death-struggle for its own existence. Neither party will yield except from necessity. The contest, however suicidal, must, for aught that we can see, go on, in accordance with the war principle, till one or the other is unable to continue it any longer.

Let us, then, just glance at some of the pecuniary results. Take a few estimates of what the North alone has spent or lost in less than four years:—

Army and navy,.....	\$3,000,000,000
Bounties in raising recruits,.....	400,000,000
Property destroyed on the ocean,.....	300,000,000
Property destroyed on land,.....	200,000,000
Loss of profits from revenue,.....	700,000,000
Pensions.. . . .	400,000,000

\$5,000,000,000

Such are some of the estimates made by a clever semi-loyal journal, which reckons the loss from the killed and maimed at \$2,000,000,000, and from only three years' labor of other soldiers, at no less than \$8,000,000,000; a grand total of ten thousand million dollars more! However extravagant a part of these estimates may seem, they still contain a great deal of truth, and we fear that most of them, except the last, will be justified by the final results.

Another journal (*National Intelligencer*), always pro-slavery, but conducted with such candor as to avoid governmental censure, represents our debt as "without example in the history of the world, whether regard be had to its comparative magnitude, or to the rapidity of its accumulation. The debt of Great Britain, \$4,000,000,000 in round numbers, is the result of more than a thousand years." Not strictly true, as nearly the whole was contracted in less than two centuries, and about three-fourths in twenty-five years, during the wars consequent upon the first French Revolution. "Our ascertained and acknowledged debt, amounting (Oct. 1, 1864) to more than \$2,000,000,000, is the result of less than four years of war expenditures." These calculations, though made by a partisan hostile to the administration, are mainly sustained by facts, and will in time be, we much fear, more than confirmed.

There is a very natural disposition to put the best face we can upon our prospects; but it is quite impossible to wink out of sight the fact that we are on the road to financial ruin, and can escape only by pausing in season. If we cannot safely heed semi-loyal croakers at home, telling unwelcome yet wholesome truths, we ought certainly to take kindly the warnings of such foreign friends as Richard Cobden, who frankly told us long ago that "we are deluded if we fancy we can carry on a civil war like this, drawing a million of men from productive industry to be engaged in the process of destruction, and spending two or three hundred millions sterling, without a terrible collapse sooner or later, and a dreadful prostration in every part of the community." We marvel that such collapse and prostration had not come long ago; but however long delayed, it must come at last, and probably be much worse for the delay.

Take now some very sober statistics. "In our last number," says *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine*, for October, 1864, "we gave the savings of the Northern States up to 1860, at 2,632,709,497 dollars, and concluded that the annual savings for the ten years from 1850 to 1860, could not have been more than 60,000,000 dollars a year. Such was probably the amount of the actual savings of the Northern States in 1860. For the whole country it gives in 1860 the following result, —

From agricultural productions,.....	\$100,000,000
From industrial products.....	125,000,000
For stocks, except manufacturing, which are included above.....	55,000,000
For mines, fisheries, and carrying trade,.....	50,000,000
Total profits North and South,.....	<u>\$330,000,000</u>

This is the fund out of which the farmer buys his clothing and agricultural implements, repairs and enlarges his buildings, and pays his taxes.

In 1860, then, the North laid up \$60,000,000; and to this fund, and this alone, we must look to pay our taxes. The strictest economy could not increase our tax-paying ability beyond the amount of these profits. Our debt is now (Oct., 1864) \$2,000,000,000, and will be at least \$2,500,000,000 by the first of January. If, therefore, we have peace at that time, the annual expenses of government would be about as follows, if our finances were ably managed:—

Interest on the debt at six per cent.....	\$150,000,000
The pension list will now reach at least.....	50,000,000
Army and navy.....	75,000,000
Civil service.....	35,000,000
Total.....	\$310,000,000

These estimates are, we believe, less than can be expected without the strictest economy. Then, besides this, we have largely increased city, county, town, and State taxes. An idea of the extent of this latter burden may be gathered from the expense of raising the last call of five hundred thousand men, cities and counties having paid a bounty of from 500 to 1,000 dollars for each man. If we estimate the average bounty paid at only 600 dollars, we have an aggregate debt of 300,000,000 dollars incurred for this one purpose. Thus we see, if the war is closed by the first of January, 1865, there will be from three to four hundred million dollars of taxes to be paid, without mentioning the amount required for the sinking fund. Previous to the war, we paid in taxes about 70,000,000 dollars, leaving at least 300,000,000 additional to be raised hereafter out of our national income, simply to pay our current expenses and interest."

HOW MANY TROOPS RAISED, AND AT WHAT COST. — It seems from a statement of Senator Wilson, chairman of the Military Committee of the United States Senate, that our government in six or eight months "raised or re-enlisted 600,000 men, not counting black men; that within the last year we have put in the field 700,000 men, and have spent \$125,000,000 in bounties." The rebels must have done nearly as much in their death-struggle; and at this rate 1,400,000 troops must have been raised in one year, and \$250,000,000 spent in mere bounties to coax them into the service! But the rebels *compel*.

RETALIATION IN WAR.

THERE has been among us not a little discussion about retaliating upon our rebels the barbarities inflicted by them upon such of our men as have fallen into their hands. There is still much diversity of opinion on the subject. In private and in public, through the press, and in the halls of Congress, arguments both for and against retaliation have been strenuously urged.

Now, without attempting a review of this discussion on either side, we may be allowed to remind the disputants, that war must, from its very nature, proceed in all its operations on the principle of a direct, unflinching, remorseless retaliation. It is always just this, and nothing else. Its incidents may vary; but here is its grand characteristic, its central, all-pervading idea. It does not, and cannot, return good for evil, and still be war. Its whole business is to work as much mischief and misery as possible to its victims. Its object it seeks solely by inflicting evil in some form, and thus compelling compliance with its demands. For what other purpose are armies marshalled, war-ships set afloat, and all the operations of war carried on? Are they not avowedly designed to wound and kill, to burn, ravage, and destroy? Are not cannon, swords, and bayonets, rifles and revolvers, bullets and bomb-shells, grape and cannister, all made and used on purpose to inflict upon enemies the utmost amount of injury possible? Do we not select as commanders men most likely to do this terrible work most effectually, and then commend or censure them just in proportion as they succeed or fail in executing the task assigned them?

It seems to us, then, that this squeamishness about retaliation is quite out of place. Indeed, it is practically suicidal. If too humane or too conscientious to treat rebels on the principles of war, we ought never to have begun the process of bringing them back to their duty by the sword, but should have yielded at once their claim to have their own way, right or wrong, in everything, to trample with impunity on all law, and push onward to their object through fire and blood without resistance or complaint. When we joined issue with them, we gave them to understand that we should employ all means in our power to compel their submission to the authority of our government, and should continue these means or evils until they should return to their duty. For these four years we have been attempting mainly to carry out this threat.

If we never meant to execute it, we ought never to have made it; but if right to make it, we are, of course, justified in executing it with all the terrible enginery of war.

How far this may be wise, is quite another question. We now speak only of what the principles of war, if not of government itself, confessedly allow; and to us it seems very clear, that they involve the right to inflict all the evils found necessary to accomplish its ends. We ourselves discard the war system as wrong; but those who adopt it, must recognize this as one of its essential principles. If an enemy or a rebel does not yield, he must be made to suffer until he will. Here is the principle; but how much suffering may be necessary for this purpose, can be learned only by trial in each case. Whether less or more, the screws must be turned down tighter and tighter upon him till he submits; and if necessary to sacrifice property, comfort, and life itself until the land becomes an Aceldama and a wilderness, it must, on the war principle, be done without hesitation or a twinge. If we shrink from all this, we give up the principle that underlies all war.

Now, what does this principle require or permit in return for such barbarities as our rebels have perpetrated? Prompt, ample, unrelenting retaliation, continued until they shall cease from these outrages. Strict war knows no other way to cure, prevent, or punish such wrongs. All this, you may say, is far enough from the Sermon on the Mount; yet this alone is war; and it seems a puerile weakness to carp or hesitate at such retaliation so long as we retain or tolerate the custom of war of which this forms an integral part.

‘Shall we, then, sanction or exercise retaliation?’ Clearly we must, if we resort to war at all; for it always is, and must be, a system of wholesale retaliation. Such is its very nature.

‘But ought we not, as far as possible, to soften its barbarities, and mitigate its manifold evils?’ Most certainly; but just as far as you do this, you practically condemn the whole system, and say in effect that it ought all to be done away.

‘But would not retaliation do ourselves in the end more harm than good?’ This question we leave the advocates of war to decide for themselves; but to us it seems just as right or just as wrong as the war system of which it forms a part. Consistency is said to be a jewel; and this would require us either to have kept the sword

in its scabbard from the first, or to deal all along with our rebels on the strict principles of war. We have done neither with a steady, persistent consistency. We confess, peace-men as we are, we have often found it very difficult to conceal our lack of respect for the half-war, half-peace way in which our government has treated our rebels. Awhile it strangely attempted to wage war on the principles of peace, a practical absurdity, while the rebels with a terrible earnestness were plunging the sword of war up to its very hilt in the vitals of our country. It was a species of suicidal kindness. If determined to compel submission by brute force, better by far to push the rebels as soon as possible to the wall, and hold them there without a moment's relaxation until they should give up the contest. Such a course, the only one that the war principle recognizes, might, if taken in season, have averted no small part of the evils entailed by this rebellion.

Just so with the question of retaliation. Having begun to deal with rebels in the war way, our rulers might have stopped nine tenths of the fiendish cruelties they have practised upon our men by promptly treating theirs in our hands just as they did ours, and giving them to understand, not so much by words as by actual deeds, that we should continue thus to retaliate until they ceased from such outrages. On the war principle, this was the only consistent course; and in the hands of a real warrior, or an efficient ruler like Jackson or Cromwell, it would have been as effective as any other instrument of war, and equally justifiable. Strict war is nothing *but* retaliation; and if we adopt the system, why shrink, in such an urgent case as this, from its prompt application? Our government has occasionally tried retaliation; and the threat, whenever made in real earnest, has been, we believe, quite successful in every case.

In saying all this, do we advocate war? Not at all, but merely state what war is, what it permits, and what it requires for its consistent, most effective prosecution. If you will or must have war, better have it throughout in downright earnestness. A mongrel, fitful policy, half-peace and half-war, we can regard with little respect, and think it likely to lose the benefits of the former, while it increases all the evils of the latter.

EDWARD EVERETT ON REBEL TREATMENT OF PRISONERS. — At the meeting in Boston, Jan. 9, 1865, to secure aid for the relief of the sufferers in Savannah, just taken by Gen. Sherman's army, Mr. Everett in the course of his eloquent plea, the last he ever made in public, said, "I hope we may never have to retaliate in any other way the cruelties practised upon our poor prisoners," adding incidentally his own view of those cruelties in these terms: —

"Nothing so plainly shows the ruthless spirit of the leaders of the rebellion as the manner in which our prisoners of war have been treated at some of their depots. The accounts of these cruelties which have reached us have, of course, been contradicted; but I know them to be true. I know it from some of the living victims of these cruelties. A young officer exchanged from Libby — a person as well entitled to credit as any one, high or low in office, priest or layman, by whom his account has been or can be contradicted — assured me that the statements I so frequently made of the cruel manner in which our prisoners were treated in that prison, are unexaggerated. An officer recently escaped from Columbia, informed a friend of mine, who repeated it to me last Saturday, that the allowance even to officers was a very small quantity of uncooked corn meal daily, with a spoonful of sorghum syrup. The condition in which the returned prisoners came back to us — their wasted frames, their sunken eyes, their nerveless limbs — shows that it is the settled policy of the rebel leaders to send them home broken down, body and mind, and unfit for service; in other words, to keep them out of the grave just long enough to be exchanged for a rebel prisoner, who will return better fed and clothed than he was at home, hale and hearty, and ready to take the field. That such is the case with the Southern prisoners of war at our depots, I have had some opportunities to know personally. The prisoners at Fort Warren are as well housed and fed, as far as substantials are concerned, as nine tenths of the people of Massachusetts; that is, they have comfortable shelter, space for exercise, adequate clothing, and food, animal and vegetable, in abundance. I visited Camp Douglas, near Chicago, at a time when 8,000 Confederate prisoners were confined there. They had twenty acres of ground for exercise and games in which they chose to indulge; they had comfortable barracks; I saw Western hams by the cartload unloading into their store-rooms, and I passed through their quarters just at the dinner hour. The tables certainly were not spread with damask table-cloths, nor set out with porcelain or cut glass; nor did I taste the food. But judging from looks and smell, it was as wholesome and savory as I ever wish to see on my own table, and in quantity and quality it was equal to that of the Union regiments that guarded the depot. A similar state of things, I was informed by an intimate friend of mine, an officer high in the public service, exists at Johnson's Island, in Lake Erie. I have also heard from trustworthy sources similar accounts of the treatment of the prisoners at Fort Delaware."

CIRCULATION OF FACTS ON THIS SUBJECT. — Certain liberal gentlemen of Boston conceived the idea of supplying every clergyman, editor, bookseller, postmaster, and legislator in the land with the account prepared by the Sanitary Commission of the treatment of our prisoners by the rebel authorities. It is intended,

also, to distribute the document largely in England, where it must effect a great revolution of sentiment against the South, while at home it must deepen our abhorrence of the rebellion, and strengthen the national determination to kill slavery. Such outrages upon humanity and civilization, perfectly characteristic of slavery, ought to be spread, if possible, before the whole civilized world.

THE COMMON FATE OF FALLEN SOLDIERS.—We hear much about the poetry, the glory, of war; but here is one of its *ordinary* realities. Says one, writing in Dec., 1864, from Murfreesborough, Tenn., "We passed on our way over the classic field of the great and bloody battle of Stone River, where the noble Rosecrans so grandly won undying laurels. The graves of the heroes who perished there can still be counted by the hundred as you ride along; and if you leave the pike a quarter of a mile, you can see the long mounds over trenches in which the Northern slain were buried by the hecatomb. Do you see that field of cotton? Not picked yet, its white pods look very pretty; but what are those little upright pieces of board, hardly larger than shingles, that so thickly dot the field? They are the only memorials left now to show where our soldiers who fell in that fierce battle were hastily interred! Can we do nothing to show greater honor to our heroes than this? Before another year passes it will be too late. The hoe of the negro, or the natural rotting of the wood, will speedily obliterate these fragile monuments."—Do! What *can* they do for the ordinary victims of war, its rank and file? Here and there a high officer may be honored with an imposing funeral; but common soldiers are left, and generally *must* be, either to rot unburied, or be shovelled by the dozen into a huge, common grave.

WASTE OF REBEL LIFE.—Gen. Banks, who had at New Orleans special means of knowing, estimated some time ago, that out of 40,000 men enlisted from Louisiana in the rebel army, not more than 1,500 then survived, or less than one in 38. What a havoc of life to the Moloch of slavery! The rebel leaders have from the first so carefully concealed their losses that it can never be known what hecatombs of their own people they have sacrificed in their mad schemes for covering the continent with their system of human bondage. The facts, if fully known, would probably horrify the world.

Take an instance comparatively recent. In Hood's late battles a rebel regiment (39th Mississippi) brought out only 15 men, and another (37th) lost over 500. The havoc of our own troops has been terrible, but, on the whole, far less, we think, than among the rebels, whose leaders seem to have shown more than the usual Southern recklessness of human life. In this respect the present conflict would seem to be drifting us back to the rude, brutal ages of Jenghiz-khan and Tamerlane.

THE DANO-GERMAN DISPUTE:

AN ARGUMENT FOR ARBITRATION INSTEAD OF THE SWORD.

THIS controversy was after awhile referred to a peaceful mode of adjustment; and thus, sooner or later, all such disputes must come to be. The sword can determine nothing save its own incompetency to act as a just or satisfactory arbitrator. It can render the work of the negotiators infinitely more difficult by the angry resentments which it enkindles, and by the vexatious complications which it intrudes into the arena of dispute. The time will come when nations will wake up to a perception of the fact that the sword is the worst servant they can employ, and will demand of their governments that, since negotiation *must* be resorted to in the end, it shall not be hindered or thwarted by the obtrusive interposition of armed force.

On this Dano-German question Europe lately had a hairbreadth escape from what threatened to be a general war. By hastily yielding to a chivalrous and romantic sympathy for Denmark, England might have been drawn into the murderous conflict. She might, *as she certainly would*, have kindled the flames of a general European war; but who can imagine for a moment that Denmark would have emerged from such a struggle otherwise than weakened, mutilated, and injured in every respect? England, too, would have been a fearful loser, and would have learned, when too late, that all the blood shed and treasure squandered had failed to secure for Denmark the objects for which such tremendous sacrifices had been made. It may not seem very heroic and grand thus carefully to count the cost of war; but the cost *must* be counted, sooner or later, by all who take part in war; and surely, it is a wiser thing to count that cost *before* war begins than after it is over,—before the earth has been drenched with blood than when it is too late to recall a single wasted life, or to heal a single broken heart.

In this light the war in Denmark may be made useful to us. It has demonstrated conclusively the folly of appealing to the sword for the settlement of international and dynastic disputes, and the madness of rejecting a peaceful solution offered through the means of friendly arbitration. Something has been gained to the cause of peace by the fact that arbitration has been brought prominently forward, and discussed as a means of settling international quarrels; as a substitute for the cruel, costly, and unchristian system of war. There are few who do not now regret that Denmark chose rather to continue the war than at once resort to arbitration. The fact that she refused at first to submit her cause to arbitration, is no argument against arbitration itself. It cannot be said that arbitration failed in this case, simply because *it was not tried*.

Yet there are people who try to laugh at our demand for arbitration as a substitute for war. 'See,' say they, 'how com-

pletely these peace-fanatics have been discomfited; their favorite panacea of arbitration has been tried in this Dano-German difficulty, and has completely broken down. Neither of the disputants would have anything to do with it. It won't work! By a parity of reasoning a man might as well attempt to argue that a certain medicine was useless, because a refractory patient had refused to swallow it. The physician's prescription might have been the very best that could have been written; but the patient's cure would depend upon his taking the physic. If he resolutely refused even to have the prescription dispensed, but persisted in sticking to his brandy and water, and to a diet the very opposite of that ordered by his doctor, and if, under these circumstances, he died, would any sane man dream of denouncing the doctor as a fool, or his remedies as the nostrums of a charlatan? Everybody would feel bound to acknowledge that in such a case the cause of failure lay, not with the physician, but with the patient. A sensible physician will always seek to anticipate the action of the disease with which he has to contend. He will not wait until his patient presents all the most aggravated symptoms of raging fever before he begins to administer his remedies; he will seek to arrest, at its very earliest stage, every symptom of an inflammatory and irritating character; he will prescribe while there yet remain some healthy normal conditions of the system to act upon; and his hopes of success will depend very much, in acute cases at least, upon the fact of his being called in *in time*. Had the British government deigned to listen respectfully to the suggestion made by the Emperor of the French for a Peace Congress, to be held *prior to the outbreak of war*; had they condescended to accept his courteous invitation to Paris; and thus brought this Dano-German difficulty into the Court of Reason and Justice, *before the passions of the German and the Danish people had become inflamed by the outburst of war, and their resentments kindled against each other by the injuries which each had sustained in the murderous conflict*, it is more than probable that a peaceful solution might have been found; and that the proposal to refer the whole matter in dispute to some friendly arbitrator would have been assented to by both parties.

Taught by the experience of the last four months, we trust that the people everywhere will feel the vast importance and value which attaches to the principle of an *ante-bellum* congress, and will press upon their respective governments the duty of referring, *at the earliest possible period*, all disputes that may arise with other nations to the settlement of friendly and impartial arbitration. The great point is not so much to supplement as to anticipate war by arbitration. In this chiefly lies the hope of nations for deliverance from a custom which has so long desolated the world. — *Bond of Brotherhood.*

HOPEFUL SIGNS FOR PEACE. — No wonder its friends have, for the last few years, felt some discouragement. The civilized world has been deluged with war and the war-spirit within the last decade. In this country (Eng.), even soldiering has been made a social institution and a social recreation by the volunteer movement. It takes a ball-room and picnic character, and goes gypsying, gallanting, and rollicking in all kinds of social enjoyment. Thus the iron brow of war is wreathed with flowers, and nearly all its serpent locks are hidden under garlands often wrought by the whitest and gentlest fingers.

All this works temporarily against the cause of Peace. It is now high-tide with the war-spirit; but the ebb is sure to come, and will be greater than the influx. The terrible lessons of war must fall with a new and deeper teaching into the mind of nations. The progress of the cause, though partially concealed, has *not* been arrested. If the efforts of Peace reformers have been hedged and cramped by these untoward events, never have the oldest or the boldest of them seen a time when the foremost sovereigns and statesmen of the world have said so much of Arbitration, a Congress of Nations, Simultaneous Disarmament, and Non-Interference, as during the darkest hours of the present crisis. Nothing is clearer than the fact that the ideas which the pioneers of peace have been disseminating for half a century, are making their way upward into the heart of nations, and the mind of governments. The recent Conference in London is a most conclusive and striking proof of this progress. England, France, Austria, Prussia, and Sweden fully adopted and proposed the principle of Arbitration in settling the territorial question between Denmark and Germany. It is doubtful if there is a reading, thinking man in Europe, acquainted with the circumstances of the case, who does not believe that Denmark would have saved to herself a very valuable and extensive portion of the territory she has lost, if she had accepted this basis of adjustment.

Thus, with all the dark aspects of the present moment, there were never so many large stars of promise in our firmament as now, and they are all the brighter for the clouds that surround them. None of us have ever seen a time when the leading governments of Christendom have said and done so much for Arbitration, as a mode of settling international disputes, as since our last Peace Congress in 1851. None of us ever heard so much said in the highest places of political power in favor of a Congress of Nations to organize peace, as during this last dark year. When we met at Brussels, Paris, or Frankfort, did we expect that these great powers would say and do more in favor of Arbitration, than they said and did in the Paris Conference at the close of the Crimean War, or in the London Conference on the Dano-German question? Did we expect to see our plan of a Congress of Nations proposed to the governments of Christendom by a sovereign or statesman occupying a higher position, or possessing greater influence, than Louis Napoleon? — *Elihu Burritt.*

FINANCIAL ITEMS.

OUR NATIONAL DEBT — Was officially reported, January 1, 1865, as follows: —

Debt bearing interest in coin.....	\$1,087,553,488.80
Interest thereon.....	68,433,181.45
Debt bearing interest in lawful money.....	608,570,952.44
Interest thereon.....	29,698,770.41
Debt on which interest has ceased.....	350,570.09
Legal tender debt bearing no interest.....	433,160,569.00
Fractional currency.....	24,096,913.93
Total principal.....	\$2,158,78544,2.26
Total interest.....	93,131,901.86
Amount of unpaid requisitions.....	136,100,000.00

Amount in Treasury.....	10,252,958.16
Balance.....	125,847,041.84

According to the last official return, dated October 31, 1864, the total debt was \$2,017,099,515.

REBEL FOREIGN DEBT. — We have been surprised that European sympathizers with our slavery could have been duped into the folly of loaning them money to carry on their rebellion, since every man of ordinary intelligence here could have forewarned them that rebel promises would a few years hence be worth little more than the paper on which they are printed. Foreign creditors may have hoped that our government would in the end pay these promises; but the following action of Congress on the subject puts a final extinguisher on all such hopes: —

“Whereas, certain persons have put in circulation the report that on the suppression of the rebellion the rebel loan may be recognized in whole or in part by the United States, and whereas such a report is calculated to give a false value to said rebel debt or loan; therefore,

Resolved, That Congress hereby declares the rebel debt or loan as simply an agency of the rebellion, which the United States can never, under any circumstances, recognize in any part or in any way.”

This leaves the whole thing on the right ground; — the loan or debt an agency of the rebellion; and hence we can never recognize it without indorsing the rebellion itself, and saying in effect that all our efforts for its suppression have been wrong.

INCREASE OF NATIONAL DEBTS. — During the last ten or fifteen years there has been, even in a time of peace, a steady increase of debt in nearly every part of Christendom. “France,” says Mr. Laing, late Finance Minister for India, “has added, in little more than ten years, upward of £150,000,000 to its national debt. Austria and Italy are bombarding each other with budgets, showing annual deficits of £6,000,000 or £8,000,000; and the contest for Venetia resolves itself into the question of which will be first bankrupt. Russia pays for the Crimean War and the Polish insurrection by a succession of loans. Spain is at her

wits' end to make both ends meet by temporary expedients ; and Turkey has adopted enough of the ideas of civilized Christendom to knock every six months at the door of the Stock Exchange with a modest intimation of her willingness to accept anything which anybody is willing to lend. Lastly, the United States of America, who need to boast their exemption from debt as one of the greatest advantages of their young continent over the old monarch-ridden communities of decrepit Europe, have apparently made the discovery that it becomes the people who talk the biggest to have the biggest debt in the universe, and have worked this discovery with such energy that in three years they have incurred a national debt which, measured by the rate of interest, is nearly equal to the whole national debt which it has taken poor, slow old John Bull three centuries to accumulate."

In 'accounting for this increase of debts, he underrates the sums expended or lost in actual war. "In the course of the last ten years," he says, "there has been an expenditure of about £300,000,000 in three years of the two great European wars of the Crimea and Italy, and of about £300,000,000 more in minor and civil wars, and the accumulated deficits of a state of armed peace. If we add the expenditure of America, the butcher's bill of the civilized world for the last ten years will have been more than a thousand million sterling, or at the rate of \$500,000,000 increase in the debts of Christendom every year; about one thousand times as much as this same Christendom has meanwhile given for the world's evangelization !

PENSIONS. — These reminders of war are coming on apace, and will last, if we may judge from past wars, two or three generations. The number of pension certificates issued from July 1, 1861, to January 1, 1865, is 66,890. Of these 29,422 are to invalid soldiers, quite an army of life-long cripples, and 36,968 to widows, orphans, and mothers of deceased soldiers. We may calculate ultimately on at least 150,000 direct pensioners on the government, besides all the manifold provisions for the multitudes thrown by the war upon public and private charity. For ages will society carry the scars of this terrible conflict.

REBEL MONEY OR CREDIT. — Prices in rebellion, as everywhere else, as we may regard as marking the public credit, or local value of what passes as currency. In January, 1865, sixty dollars of rebel money was worth in Richmond only one in gold, coffee \$10 a pound, \$20 a ticket to the theatre, \$10 or \$15 for a dinner at the saloons, and \$5 or more for a "drink." Thus flour has in some cases gone up to more than \$200 a barrel, and other things in proportion. What a commentary on the promises of those who wheedled the Southern people into the belief that rebellion would relieve their burdens, and fill the land with a sudden and permanent influx of wealth ! Charleston was to become the El Dorado. In less than four years this queen city of rebellion is a desolation, most of its citizens fled who could, and only the miserably poor left to the charity of Northern "mud-sills," only ten or fifteen thousand, black and white, remaining amid its ruins out of nearly 50,000 at the opening of the rebellion. A signal retribution ! God's hand working his well-merited doom as clearly as he did that of Belshazzar.

THE SOLDIER TO HIS CHILDREN.

DARLINGS, I am weary pining;
 Shadows fall across my way;
 I can hardly see the lining
 Of the cloud,—the silver lining,
 Turning darkness into day.

I am weary of the sighing;
 Moaning, wailing through the air;
 Breaking hearts in anguish crying
 For the lost ones—for the dying;
 Sobbing anguish of despair.

I am weary of the fighting;
 Brothers red with brother's gore;
 Only that the *wrong* we're fighting—
Truth and *Honor's* battle fighting—
 I would draw my sword no more.

I am pining, dearest, pining,
 For your kisses on my cheek;
 For your dear arms round me twining;
 For your soft eyes on me shining;
 For your loved words, darlings—speak!

Tell me, in your earnest prattle,
 Of the olive-branch and dove;
 Call me from the cannon's rattle;
 Take my thoughts away from battle;
 Fold me in your dearest love.

Darlings, I am weary pining;
 Shadows fall across my way;
 I can hardly see the lining
 Of the cloud,—the silver lining,
 Turning darkness into day.

VICTORIES OF PEACE. — The beautiful, pregnant saying of Milton, that "Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war," is destined, we trust, to find in the world's onward progress many a signal and glorious illustration. Such was the result of our late presidential election, worth more to the cause of freedom and peace than would have been a hundred triumphs on the battle-field.

Mark its significance. It virtually decided, in all probability, the fate of our country for long ages to come. In 1860, Mr. Lincoln received less by about 140,000 than half of all the votes cast, while his majority over all others is now 407,381, an increase in his favor of about 547,000, and showing a very rapid growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the twenty-five States that united in the election.

The result develops another fact quite unexpected, — the large increase of voters in the Free States. We should have looked for a diminution as a natural result of the war; but in twenty-one States they have increased nearly 300,000 in four years; and if we allow for the soldiers from seven States who could not vote, and for the voters not reckoned in the organized territories, the total increase would considerably exceed 400,000. Such facts prove that our country, in spite of this huge rebellion, has vast resources still left.

HOW WAR RENDS DOMESTIC AFFECTIONS.

The young Affianced. — In one of the hospitals at Annapolis, July, 1864, was a young lieutenant-colonel terribly wounded before Richmond, and had been slowly sinking into the arms of death ever since he reached the hospital. His wound was known to be mortal; and word was sent to his family, and through them to the young lady to whom he was engaged in marriage. His affianced lost no time in hastening to his bedside, where she at once assumed the duties of nurse. Knowing that he was to die, she insisted on being married to him, and the ceremony was performed by the chaplain. It was a sad sight, witnessed in silence by the numerous officers in the same ward, and brought tears to the eyes of more than one. In a few days the husband passed to the land of spirits. How many hearts has this rebellion thus wrung with agony!

The Maniac Mother. — When some prisoners from "the slaughter-yard" at Andersonville were exchanged (1864), "a mother came all the way from Connecticut in hope of finding her son among the number. She came to Camp Parole near Annapolis, and there waited, wearily waited, day after day, for the coming of her boy; but though many came, he was not among them. 'Hope deferred maketh the heart sick;' and so it was with her. Broken-hearted by constantly recurring disappointments, her mind, already shaken by grief, at last gave way. Ever since, more than six months, she had been stopping in this city, — how or where, I know not. During all this time, she comes to the office of Dr. Vanderkief, the surgeon in charge, to ascertain whether any boat-loads of released prisoners have arrived. When the last detachment came in, she seemed overjoyed, and went from skeleton to skeleton, scanning them eagerly, anxiously. But her son was not there; and each day she went wearily back to her home. The good-hearted surgeon, although he knows and has told her many times that her son has been officially reported as dead, still answers her every day the same monotonous, but ever kindly spoken 'No!' She comes always provided with a shirt, a pair of drawers, pantaloons, boots, and cap, and when informed that her son has not yet arrived, goes down the gravelled path across the lawn to the very end of the long wharf. There she stands looking over the broad waters of the

Chesapeake for full an hour. Clad ever in the same neat dress and closely-fitting bonnet, she gazes wistfully, longingly, out over the blue waste, as if her very eagerness would hasten on the bark she imagines bears back her child. But her tear-swollen eyes at last grow dim, her strength fails, and with the empty void aching in her breast, oh, how agonizingly she slowly turns to depart! That son she shall meet, poor, crazed, broken-hearted mother, never, never this side the hither shore."

SPECIMEN OF ENGLISH FAIRNESS. — We all remember how indignant Englishmen became over the fact that our government attempted to obstruct Charleston harbor by sinking ships laden with stone; just what the British themselves did in Savannah river during our Revolutionary War, and have always claimed the right to do in every war. The rebels, at the commencement of our blockade, sunk seven old hulks on the bar of the South-West Pass below New Orleans, to prevent our ships-of-war from going up for its capture. Did anybody ever hear of protests or complaints from the government or presses of Great Britain against *that* act as "barbarous"? So the rebels early destroyed or extinguished all the lighthouses along our Southern coast, a distance in all of some 2,000 miles or more. What Englishman cried out against *this* deed of wanton barbarity? So from the first have they bitterly reproached us, in many cases, for what they have either openly applauded, or silently tolerated in our rebels. British neutrality, as seen in our rebellion, is likely to stand in history pretty nearly on a par with "Punic Faith." Such is England as represented by her aristocracy; but the England of her people has shown herself ready to deal fairly and kindly by us.

HOW SOLDIERS WASTE AWAY IN WAR. — The rebels themselves state, that their General Johnston had, at the commencement of Sherman's campaign in the mountains of Georgia, an army of 84,000 men, and of this number only 20,000 are now left; more than three-quarters lost in less than a year. What became of them, we are not told; but they are gone, doubtless most of them in battle, on the march, in hospitals, and by hardships, exposure, and desertion. What a fearful waste of human life!

FRAUDS IN RAISING RECRUITS. — General Dix said long ago that the bounty-brokers in the city of New York alone had robbed recruits of \$400,000. How many millions more have their frauds plundered from the government? Such are the villanies which war enables these Shylocks to commit, in most cases with entire impunity; and yet how many talk about war as purifying the moral atmosphere, and exalting the general character of the nation!

OUR RELATIONS WITH ENGLAND, PRESENT AND PROSPECTIVE. — Among the many evils suggested by our rebellion, is its liability to disturb and imperil our foreign relations. Thus far it has in this respect done much less mischief than we supposed, it would ; and still has it already thrown not a little of wormwood and gall into our intercourse, especially with Great Britain. How much more is to come, we know not ; but we cannot repress a strong feeling of anxiety for the future. During all the rebellion thus far, we have never, except for a few weeks of the Trent affair, had any apprehension of an *immediate* collision ; but we have all along felt, as we still do, many fears lest this strife among ourselves, which is in truth only the old struggle to determine whether the aristocratic few or the democratic many shall rule, — a question as vital in England, France, and the world over as in our Free and Slave States, — should sooner or later embroil us in a fierce, disastrous war with England. We see, indeed, no good reason why it should, even on the lowest principles of policy ; but the treatment we received from the aristocrats at the head of her government during the first year or two of our rebellion, especially in their hasty, eager concession of belligerent rights to our rebels, and in their allowing England to be for so long time a base of rebel operations to destroy our commerce through war-ships, armaments, and even *sailets* furnished under their own eye by British skill and capital, has been silently diffusing among our people of every class the leaven of a *universal* dissatisfaction that will, we much fear, require for many years the utmost care to keep from bursting out at length in actual war.

We deem it, then, a special duty of good men on both sides to guard as much as possible against mutual misconception and irritation. There will be occasion enough for both ; but to all provocations, on which side soever they may arise, we should give as kind and charitable construction as the case may admit. Whatever may be said of the British government at home, or through its colonies, for several years, we must concede that of late their treatment of us has been marked by a very careful and considerate kindness. The blockade-running business, we see not how she could restrain ; nor would the commendable liberality of her laws, akin in this respect to our own, let her forbid those rights of refuge and asylum which our rebels have so shamefully abused in their attempts at raiding along our Northern boundary, as at St. Albans in Vermont, and upon our Northern lakes. We did at one time fear serious difficulties from this source ; but the ground finally taken by the Canadian authorities was so fair, friendly, and effective as to leave little to be desired on our part. Should the British home government and its colonies¹

authorities act hereafter in the same spirit and way, we think it would go very far to soothe and heal in time the sore feeling we have observed for the last three or four years among our people. Among the mass of them there is, with the exception of our Irish immigrants, and perhaps some few from the Continent, a strong attachment at bottom towards our fatherland; and we love to believe, as we have much reason to believe, that there may yet be rekindled all over the North, if not at the South, the feeling so spontaneously shown to the Prince of Wales during his visit to our country.

With these views we deprecate such speculations as we find in some of our journals about a future war with England. However much we may fear it, we ought to rebuke the thought as a libel on the common Christianity and common sense of the two countries. We believe our religious journals, though thoroughly dissatisfied in many respects with the treatment we received for a time from the British government, have not indulged in such vaticinations; and we regret to find them in so able and so worthy a journal as the "Anti-Slavery Standard," more especially as its editor was once such a peace-man as William Ladd used to characterize as "*ultra beyond ultra*," something *more* than opposition to *all war*. We trust that the elaborate lucubrations of this editor, which seem to have made so unfavorable an impression in England, will turn out to have been, after all, only a temporary hallucination.

HOW PAPER MANUFACTURERS GROW RICH BY THE WAR. — They have increased the price of paper nearly three hundred per cent., while it may cost them perhaps fifty per cent. more than in years past. All the rest of the advance must be their gain, a probable increase of several hundred per cent. in clear profit. It was stated, in a recent debate on this subject in Congress, that a paper-mill at the West, which had been offered for \$15,000, was now deemed fairly worth \$150,000, as it would at present prices pay forty per cent. income even on this price! From whom do these enormous profits come? Is not the community at large made poorer just to this extent? So of coal, flour, and other articles of necessity. The times enable dealers in them to extort from the people twice or thrice as much for them as heretofore. And here is the *prosperity* of war! — a prosperity tending to ultimate ruin, and must, if continued long enough, impoverish in time any people. We marvel at the general delusion on this subject even among our business men.

CRIME IN THIS WAR. — There are some facts going to show that the efforts of our government to suppress this rebellion by the sword are developing results in some respects quite unlike what we find in ordinary warfare. It seems to have diminished instead of increasing the amount of criminal offences. According to inquiries instituted by the New York Bureau of Military Statistics, the number of crimes committed in that State during the four years of the war was less than that committed the four years preceding, the convictions for criminal offences from the beginning of 1860 to the end of 1864 being 2,916, while the number for the four years previous was 3,947, a diminution of more than one third. Statistical reports also show that pauperism has decreased; and in some of our cities, as in Philadelphia, the demands for aid to the poor have been much less than in previous years, though there has been, especially in the State of New York, an increase of the higher crimes. Do not such facts prove the *moral* character and effects of enforcing law — which is all that our government has attempted to do — differ *essentially* from those of ordinary war?

LOUISIANA RECONSTRUCTION. — Among the many extremely difficult and momentous problems forced upon our government and people by the suppression of the rebellion, perhaps the foremost of all is that of recasting the habits and usages of society throughout the rebel States in such a mould as shall fit all classes for the safe and beneficent working of freedom. Gen. Banks tried his hand at this delicate task in Louisiana, and states the following as its results:—

“It secures instantaneous, universal, uncompensated, unconditional emancipation of slaves; prohibits forever the recognition of property in man; decrees the education of all children, without distinction of race or color; directs all men, white or black, to be enrolled as soldiers for the public defence; makes all men equal before the law; insures, by its regenerating spirit, the ultimate recognition of all the rights which national authority can confer upon an oppressed race; recognizes for the first time in constitutional history, the interest of daily labor as an element of power entitled to the protection of the State; authorizes the legislature to extend the right of suffrage to citizens of the United States without distinction of color, in consideration of military service, payment of taxes, or intellectual fitness therefor.”

Such an epitome certainly shows a very hopeful start in the work of reconstruction; but its successful completion all over the South must require long years of wise, kind, and patient effort. A mightier or more beneficent task was seldom, if ever, intrusted to any people. God grant us ere long an era of well-established peace in which to do it; and a determined will to do it aright, as some atonement or compensation for the countless evils inseparable from our fratricidal conflict.

APOLOGY TO BRAZIL FOR THE CAPTURE OF THE FLORIDA. — In response to the complaints made by the Brazilian government for the capture of this piratical craft in the port of Bahia last autumn, Secretary Seward, after a frank and complete disavowal of any right by the captain of the *Wachusett* to use force within the limits of a neutral power in derogation of its rights, states certain equitable considerations belonging to the case. 1. He rejects the charges of falsehood, treachery, and deception brought by the Brazilian official against Capt. Collins, because he denies them. 2. He disallows the assumption "that the insurgents of this country are a lawful naval belligerent," as maintained by Brazil, a position we are very glad to see taken, deeming it clearly tenable on general moral grounds, if not expressly by the law of nations. 3. He rejects the claim that the *Florida* belonged to the rebels, but declares she was a pirate, and ought never to have been harbored in Brazilian ports. 4. He informs the government of Brazil anew that "these positions are no longer deemed open to argument." 5. He finally charges that the authorities of Bahia unsuccessfully employed force against the *Wachusett*, and chased her beyond the waters of Brazil, thus equally with the *Wachusett* "inaugurating an unauthorized, irregular, and unjust war."

We trust that this response to the demand of Brazil will end the matter. The apology is frank, ample, and cheerful, and had already been preceded by appropriate action on the part of our government, suspending the captain, and subjecting him to a court-martial, dismissing our consul at Bahia for his co-operation, and setting the crew of the *Florida* free. We are glad that the Secretary took the occasion incidentally to rebuke the *virtual* complicity of foreign governments in the internal affairs of our own by recognizing our rebels as entitled to the same international rights and privileges with ourselves; — a position abhorrent to common sense, and an insult in fact to every regular government. There is in truth no more propriety in it than there would be in conceding belligerent rights to a gang of buccaneers that had gained a foothold in one of the West India Islands, whence they might issue to prey upon the peace and property of the civilized world. By the concession of such rights to such enemies of the human race, a government would make itself *ipso facto* an indorsor if not an abettor of their crimes.

PROGRESS IN SUPPRESSING THE REBELLION. — *Guns captured.* — During twelve weeks preceding March 4, 1865, no less than 850 cannon, or, including those destroyed or exploded by the rebels, about 900; in Charleston alone, 470; and since last August, seven months, 1,301,

without reckoning those captured or destroyed on the Alabama, Florida, Tennessee, and other rebel craft. Yet it is but a few weeks since leading journals in England would believe we had made, or were making, any real progress toward suppressing the rebellion. Now that we hold all the rebel seaports, and Richmond and Petersburg are the only cities of much consequence under rebel control, even English aristocrats may begin by and by to open their eyes to the fact that we are actually subduing the insurgents into submission to our government.

THE FALL OF CHARLESTON.

HISTORY seldom records a clearer case than this of the suicidal recoil of the sword, illustrating the Saviour's words, "All they that take the sword, shall perish by the sword." Charleston was the hot-bed of the rebellion. She claimed the chief honor of concocting its schemes, and setting at work the agencies and influences that finally launched it forth upon its sea of blood. Her parricidal hand struck the first blow, and then she revelled in the prospect of becoming the queen of slavery, the great emporium of the South, a rival of New York, if not of London itself, overflowing with wealth, and glittering in all the splendor of triumphant slavery. Let us look at a few facts in this case.

HER BOAST AT FIRST. — The governor of South Carolina, on the surrender of Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861, said in a speech to those who serenaded him with "vociferous applauses" on that occasion, "I hope to-morrow, Sabbath though it be, that under the protection of Providence, and under the orders of Gen. Beauregard, you shall have the proud gratification of seeing the Palmetto flag raised upon that fortress, and the Confederate flag of these free and independent States side by side with it; and *there they shall float forever, in defiance of any power that man can bring against them.* We have humbled the flag of the United States; and as long as I have the honor to preside as your chief magistrate, so help me God, there is no power on this earth shall lower from that fortress those flags, unless they be lowered and trailed in a sea of blood. It is the first time in the history of this country that the stars and stripes have been humbled. It has triumphed for seventy years; but to-day it has been humbled, and humbled before the glorious little State of South Carolina. And I pronounce here, before the civilized world, your independence is baptized in blood, your independence is won upon a glorious battlefield, and you are free now and forever, in defiance of a world in arms."

THE RESULT. — Less than four years have passed, and look at the result. "I have passed," says one writing on the ground, "four days amid its ruins. No language can convey a true idea of the desolation. Over thirteen thousand shells have been thrown into Charleston since the

bombardment commenced. Houses, stores, churches, banks, buildings of every description, are riddled and blown to pieces. From ten to fifteen thousand inhabitants, instead of near fifty thousand in 1860, are remaining in the upper part of the town—two thirds of them colored. The old aristocrats are *all* gone to other places in the interior."

The evacuation was sudden and hurried. "Friday and Saturday," says the same writer, "were terrible days in Charleston. Carts, carriages, horses, mules, hand-barrows, all were brought into use. The railroad trains were crowded. Men, women, and children fled, terror-stricken, weeping, broken-hearted, humbled in spirit, from their homes. How different from the 12th of April, 1861, when they stood upon the esplanade of the battery, sat upon the house-tops, clustered on the steeples, looking seaward, shouting and waving their handkerchiefs at the black clouds of smoke and forked flames rolled up from Sumter! But time works great changes. 'Pride goeth before a fall.' 'Vengeance is mine, I will repay, saith the Lord.' 'God don't pay at the end of every week; but he pays at last, my lord cardinal,' said Anne of Austria."

The rebel leaders, true to the remorseless instincts of slavery, had resolved to make Charleston another Moscow, but had neither the time nor the power to carry their purpose into full effect. In obedience to their orders, "the torch was applied early in the morning of the 18th. The citizens sprung to the fire-engines, and succeeded in extinguishing the flames in several places; but in other parts of the city the fire had its own way, burning till there was nothing more to devour. At the north-eastern railroad depot there was an immense amount of cotton in a shed, which was fired. The depot was full of commissary supplies and ammunition, powder in kegs, shells, and cartridges. The people rushed in to obtain the supplies. Several hundred men, women, and children were in the building when the ammunition ignited. In an instant these were blown into eternity—three hundred it is said. The explosion shook the city to its foundation. No language can describe the scene; the great upheaval of the building—bricks, timbers, tiles, beams, girders, flying through the air—shells exploding, crashing through the panic-stricken crowd—the shrieks and groans of the mangled ones lying helpless in the devouring flames beyond the reach of human aid, burned to cinders in the all-devouring element. Nor was this all. At the wharves were the iron-clads, burning, torn, rent, scattered over the water and land—the shells and solid shot, iron braces, red-hot iron plates, falling in an infernal shower, firing the wharves, the buildings, and all that could burn. The buildings near the north-eastern depot were licked up by the flames. All the houses embraced in the area of four squares were destroyed. The citizens did the utmost to stay the flames; but from sunrise to sunset on Saturday, all through Saturday night, Sunday, and Monday, the smoke of their temptations went up. How fearful, how terrible this retribution for crime! Abandoned by those who had cajoled, flattered, and deceived them, who had brought about their calamity, who had sworn to defend them to the last, humbled, reduced from affluence to poverty, the people of Charleston were compelled to endure the agony of those eventful days.

If the flames kindled by the rebels had swept over all the city, and left nothing but crumbling walls, there would have been few lamentations among the loyal millions of the North. But time works great changes. We are a lenient nation, a forgiving people. Commerce and the laws of political economy are stronger than hate and revenge. As a nation, we are too young to have ruin in the land. Charleston will not always be a ruined city. We shall rebuild the broken walls, and make the land fairer and more beautiful than it ever has been.

At present, however, Charleston is a ruin. The tall rank weeds of last year's growth, dry and withered now, rattle in every passing breeze, in the very heart of that city which, five years ago, was so proud and lofty in spirit. Lean and hungry dogs skulk amid the tenanted houses. Cats which once purred by pleasant firesides, ran from their old haunts at our approach. The rats have deserted the wharves and moved up town. The buzzards which once picked up the garbage of the streets, have disappeared. They are starved out. A rook cawed to us, perched on the vane of the court-house steeple. Spiders spin their webs in counting-houses. Such is the lower half of Charleston to-day. Like the Babylon of Revelation, 'Her merchants were the great men of the earth; and in her was found the blood of prophets and of the saints.' So from millions of men on earth there is now the psalm of praise — 'Alleluia! Salvation and glory and honor and power unto the Lord our God, for true and righteous are his judgments.'

RECEIPTS.

Tuscarora, Pa., Chas. Miles,	\$1.00	Beverly, Caleb Walls,	2.00
Walpole, N. H., S. N. Perry,	30.00	Seth Dodge,	2.00
Sandwich Islands, Titus Coan,	25.00	Others,	2.50— 11.50
Ch. of Hilo,	50.00	Townsend,	
Raymond, Wis., Gordon Judson,	5.00	Ephraim Spaulding,	25.00
Pittsford, Vt., S. Penfield,	32.00	Stratham, N. H.	
Judge Kellogg,	2.00	Geo. W. Thompson,	5.00
Asa Nourse,	2.00	Mrs. G. W. T.,	5.00
T. C. Hitchcock,	2.00	Others,	2.00— 12.00
W. F. Manly,	2.00	Boston, G. C. Beckwith,	300.00
Abel Penfield,	1.00— 41.00	Norwich, Ct.	
W. Rutland, Vt.		Wm. P. Greene,	25.00
D. B. Humphrey,	4.00	B. W. Tompkins,	25.00
Luke Ward,	2.00	Jas. Lloyd Greene,	25.00
C. Boardman,	2.00	Gov. Buckingham,	10.00
E. Boardman,	1.00— 9.00	L. M. Buckingham,	10.00
Hopkinton, J. C. Webster,	1.00	F. L. Gleason,	5.00
Winchester, S. Cutter,	5.00	L. W. Carroll,	3.00
N. B. Johnson,	1.00— 6.00	John Dunham,	2.00
Woburn, Mary B. Bacon,	3.00	Dr. Farnsworth,	2.00
T. Richardson,	3.00	William Williams,	2.00
L. Thompson,	2.00— 8.00	Others, 1.00 each,	3.00—112.00
E. Wilson, N. Y., H. Halsey,	2.00	N. London, Ct.	
Boston, Friend,	19.00	H. P. Haven,	10.00
Dedham, Dr. Burgess,	10.00	Rev. Dr. McKwen,	10.00
James Downing,	5.00— 15.00	T. W. Williams,	7.00
Medford, Charles Brooks,	2.00	A Friend,	1.00— 26.00
Sam'l Train,	2.00— 4.00	Danielsonville, Ct.	
Beverly, Samuel Ober,	2.00	H. L. Davieton,	2.00
John Flakett,	3.00	Others, 1.00 each,	2.00— 4.00

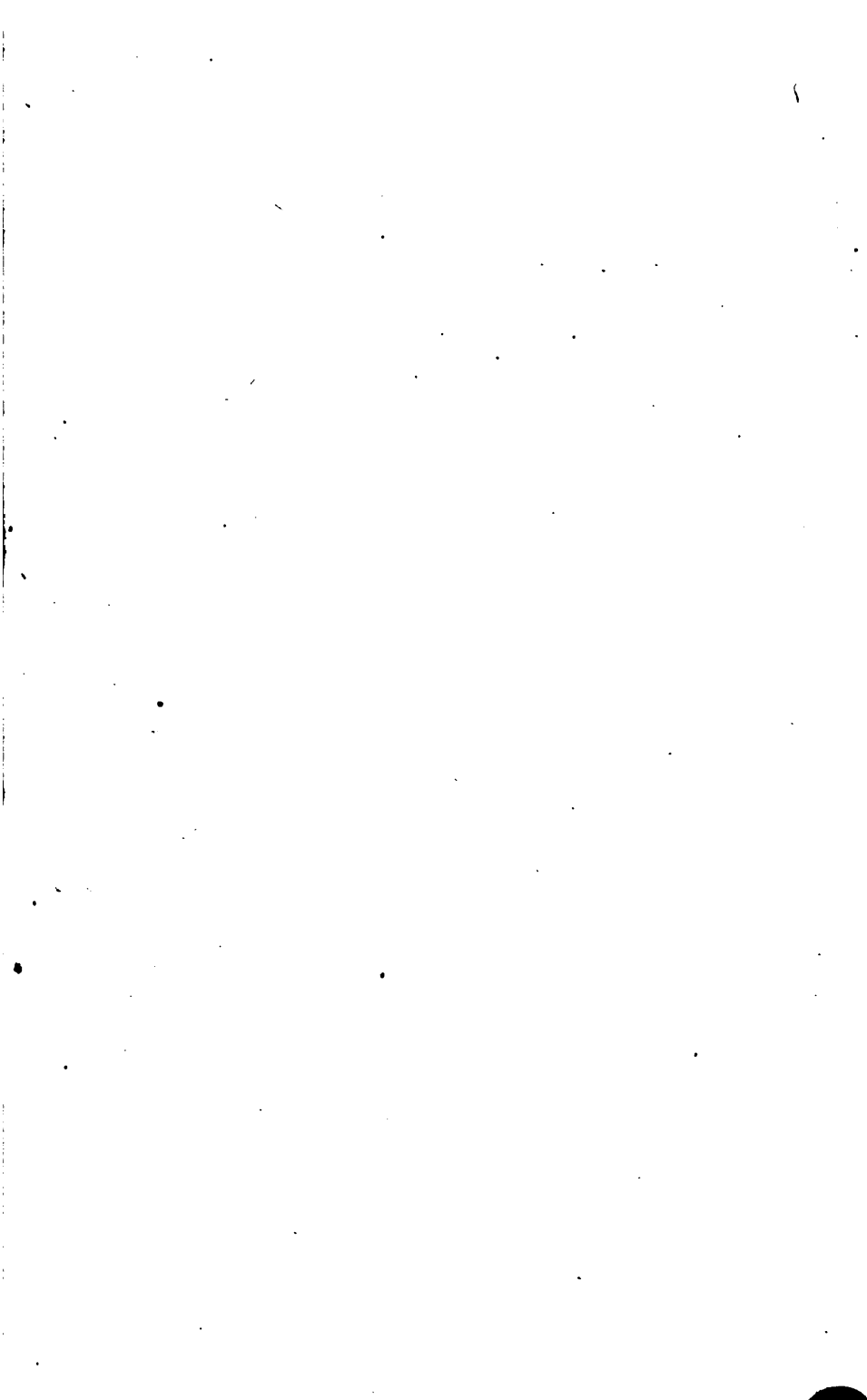
Nashua, N. H.,				Uxbridge, J. C. Keith,	2.00	
J. Crosby,	1.00			Moses Taft,	2.00	
I. D. Otterson,	2.00—	3.00		Others,	1.50—	14.50
Vernon, Ct., H. Kellogg,		1.00		Blackstone, E. Lamb,		5.00
Hartford, Ct., Thos. Smith,	10.00			Slatersville, R. I., A. Holman,		3.00
N. Kingsbury,	5.00—	15.00		Woonsocket, R. I.		
Middletown, Ct.				Mrs. J. Osborne,		1.00
W. S. Camp,	3.00			Sandwich, W. Fessenden,	2.00	
B. Douglass,	2.00			Others, 1.00 each,	5.00—	7.00
Others 1.00 each,	3.00—	8.00		N. Bedford, S. Rodman,	10.00	
Burlington, N. J., E. P. Gurney,	40.00			D. R. Greene,	5.00	
Honey Falls, N. Y., R. H. Lee,	5.00			T. Mandell,	5.00	
Philadelphia,				P. Anthony,	3.00	
J. B. Hughes,	10.00			Others, 1.00 each,	5.00—	28.00
J. W. Morris,	10.00			Gt. Barrington, A. N. Burt,		2.00
Dr. Beesley,	5.00			Taunton,		2.00
Dr. Daniel Neal,	5.00			Providence, R. I.		
Jer. Hacker,	10.00			O. Brown Fund, by		
Isaiah Hacker,	5.00			Sam'l Boyd-Tobey,	50.00	
H. C. Wood,	5.00			A. C. Barstrow,	5.00	
Howard Malcom,	10.00—	60.00		Gilbert Congdon,	3.00	
New York, W. B. Crosby,	25.00			John Kingsbury,	2.00	
S. B. Collins,	10.00			J. H. Worth,	1.00—	61.00
Lewis Tappan,	5.00			N. England Village,		
Hugh Aikman,	5.00			J. H. Smith,	5.00	
J. B. Collins,	5.00—	50.00		A. Dunham,	1.00—	6.00
Newark, N. J., S. P. Smith,	5.00			Worcester, T. K. Earle,	5.00	
Milwaukee, Wis., C. L. Madison,	2.00			Benj. Goddard,	5.00	
Providence, R. I., Peace Society,	75.00			Sam'l Perry,	5.00	
Moreland, N. H., Friend,	2.00			A. Tolman,	5.00	
W. Medway, James Mann,	5.00			Henry Goddard,	3.00	
S. Adams,	2.00—	7.00		Lewis Chapin,	2.00	
Concord, J. M. Cheeney,		5.00		Edward Earle,	3.00	
Sudbury, Dr. Goodnow,	2.00			W. G. Maynard,	2.00	
Sewell Hunt,	2.00			W. T. Merrifield,	2.00	
A. N. Smith,	2.00			A. H. Wilder,	3.00—	35.00
T. P. Hurlbut,	1.00—	7.00		Shelburne Falls,		
Danvers, T. Proctor,	4.00			N. Lamson,	10.00	
Others, 1.00 each,	5.00—	9.00		Geo. A. Bates,	1.00—	11.00
Salem, Prof. Crosby,	5.00			Chicopee Falls,		
S. A. Chase,	3.00			George Taylor,	2.00	
Others, 1.00 each,	2.00—	10.00		Others, 1.00 each,	2.00	
Amesbury, J. A. Sargent,	4.00			Estate of Elias Carter,		
W. J. Boardman,	3.00			by O. E. Carter,	50.00—	54.00
Friend,	1.00—	8.00		East Hampton,		
Georgetown, H. P. Chapin,	2.00			H. G. Knight,	10.00	
Others, 1.00 each,	6.00—	8.00		E. H. Sawyer,	5.00	
Bradford, Leon'd Johnson,	2.00			L. Wright,	2.00	
Friend,	1.00—	3.00		Others, 1.00 each,	2.00—	19.00
Haverhill, Sam'l Chase,	3.00			Northampton,		
J. H. Duncan,	2.00			J. L. Whitney,	2.00	
D. P. Harmon,	1.00—	6.00		Josiah Clark,	2.00—	4.00
Milbury, N. Goddard,	2.00			Sunderland,		4.00
H. Ormsby,	5.00			Brattleboro', Vt.		
Orra Goodell,	2.00			N. B. Williston,	7.00	
T. March,	2.00			A. Van Doorn,	5.00	
A. Woods and Sons,	3.00			Others, 1.00 each,	6.00—	18.00
Harvey Goodell,	2.00			West B., Hiram Orcutt,		2.00
Dr. Spaulding,	2.00			Castleton, Vt., T. Hooker,	5.00	
Hosaa Crane,	2.00			H. O. Higley,	5.00	
T. Waters and Sister,	2.00—	22.00		W. C. Gurney,	2.00	
Uxbridge, W. C. Capron,	5.00			Friend,	1.00—	13.00
T. B. Whiting,	2.00			Middlebury, Vt.		
C. A. Wheelock,	2.00			S. W. Boardman,	20.00	

Middlebury, Vt.			Portland, Me., A. Conant, 2.00	
A Friend, 1.25—	21.25		Rufus Horton, 2.00	
Vergennes, Vt.	3.00		Others, 1.00 each, 3.00—	7.00
Cornwall, Vt. M. O. Porter, 5.00			Dover, N. H., A. A. Tufts, 10.00	
H. Bingham, 2.00			W. Woodman, 2.00	
D. Warner, 2.00—	9.00		P. Cushing and br., 4.00	
Brandon, Vt., E. D. Selden, 5.00			J. Whitehouse, 1.00—	17.00
W. Davenport, 2.00			S. Berwick, Me., J. Plummer, 10.00	
D. Blackmer, 3.00			Gt. Falls, N. H.	
L. Bixby, 2.00			C. E. Bartlett, 2.00	
Others, 1.00 each, 2.00—	14.00		D. B. Buffum, 2.00	
Vergennes, Vt.	3.00		T. B. Moses, 1.00—	5.00
Burlington, Vt., Mrs. Francis, 2.00			Durham, N. H.	
St. Johnsbury, Vt.			Benj. Thompson, 5.00	
W. M. Thayer, 5.00			George Frost, 2.00—	7.00
Friend, 1.00—	6.00		Exeter, N. H.	
Bradford, Vt.	3.00		C. G. Odierne, 5.00	
Lyme, N. H., D. Culver, 10.00			W. Odlin, 3.00	
E. Tenney, 2.00			C. Gilman, 1.00—	9.00
Friend, 1.00—	13.00		Montpelier, Vt., C. Bowen, 5.00	
Windsor, Vt., A. Wardner, 5.00			C. W. Storrs, 1.00—	6.00
Friend, 1.00—	6.00		Camden, N. J., W. Barnard, 2.00	
Newport, N. H.			Cambridge	
Joseph Wilcox, 5.00			Dr. J. E. Worcester, (int.) 30.00	
D. B. Chapin, 3.00			F. J. Macmillan, 2.00	
H. Cummings, 1.00—	9.00		Braintree, Rev. Dr. Storrs, 5.00	
Springfield, Vt.	3.00		Titusville, Pa., W. F. Root, 2.50	
Keane, N. H., J. Prentiss, 3.00			Alstead, N. H., Daniel Sawyer, 2.00	
W. P. Wheeler, 3.00			Aurora, Ill., W. F. Elliott, 2.00	
J. Rand, 2.00			W. Springfield, E. Eldridge, 2.00	
E. A. Webb, 1.00—	9.00		Peterborough, N. Y., Gerrit Smith, 25.00	
Andover, Herman Abbott, 3.00			Ringwood, Ill., J. Rockwood, 1.00	
T. C. Foster, 1.00—	4.00		Grinnell, Ia., L. C. Rouse, 2.50	
Lawrence, T. B. Coolidge, 5.00			Farmington, Ct., A. Thomson, 5.00	
Methuen, J. F. Ingalls, 3.00			Ray, Mich., C. Redway, 2.00	
Joseph How, 2.00			Barrington, R. I., F. Horton, 2.00	
John Davis, 2.00			W. Meridan, Ct., Edmund Tuttle, 5.00	
Others, 2.50—	9.50		Pen Yan, N. Y., C. C. Shepard, 2.00	
Bath, Me., Charles Crooker, 5.00			Rye, N. H., L. Morrison, 1.00	
G. W. Duncan, 5.00			Quincy, Ill., S. H. Emery, 2.00	
J. B. Swanton, 5.00			Abington, Ct., Elisha Lord, 2.00	
Others 1.00 each, 6.00—	21.00		Others, 1.00 each, 2.00—	4.00
Brunswick, Me.			Schenectady, N. Y., Pres. Hickok, 10.00	
Prof. Upham, 5.00			Belvidere, Ill., Charles Moore, 2.00	
James Cary, 2.00			Auburn, N. H., James Holmes, 2.00	
Others, 1.00 each, 2.00—	9.00		Elgin, Ill., Amasa Lord, 100.00	
Hallowell, Me. Simon Page, 2.00			Auburn, Me., Judge May, 2.00	
Others, 1.00 each, 5.00—	7.00		Geneva, N. Y., Estate of Henry	
Winthrop, Me.			Dwight, by Edmund Dwight, 280.00	
C. M. Bailey, 5.00			Castine, Me., S. S. Osgood, 7.00	
Eben. Shaw, 2.00			From the Ladd Legacy, 200.00	
Others, 3.50—	10.50		Fitzwilliam, N. H., Joseph Harris, 3.00	
Lewiston, Me.			Camden, Me., A. Buchanan, 2.00	
A. C. Lockwood, 5.00			Boston, T. D. Quincy, 5.00	
C. A. Locke, 2.00			H. H. Leavitt, 5.00	
Others, 2.00—	9.00		A. Folsom, 2.00—	12.00

\$2,285.25

The Anniversary of the Am. Peace Society will be held in Boston, Monday, 3 P. M., May 29, 1865. Place to be notified at the time. Distinguished friends expected to speak, and a free interchange of views desired at the close of the rebellion as there was at its beginning, in preparation for renewed efforts in the cause.

W. C. BROWN, REC. SECRETARY.



TO EDITORS—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.

TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL—the Advocate is occasionally sent on charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706.	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196.	75
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252.	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212.	25
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108.	20
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier. 16 mo., pp. 303. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310,	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond. 8vo., pp. 168.	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.,	25
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2 50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12,	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.	
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts.	

FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. — Be very careful to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested by the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your purpose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE.—The law allows only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may, be addressed all communications designed for the Society.

THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

MAY AND JUNE, 1865.

A TIME TO WORK FOR PEACE.

OUR rebellion, thanks to the God of peace, is ended ; and now, after four years of fratricidal strife, we may pause amid the half million of graves which it has scattered far and wide over the land, to reflect on the evils inseparable from the war-way of settling such disputes, and gird ourselves with new zeal in the prosecution of our great work of superseding this suicidal method by Christian expedients of reason, law, and government. If this terrible experience does not stimulate the friends of peace, we know not what ever can ; but we will not allow ourselves to doubt that it will in time awaken among good men everywhere a degree of interest in our cause never yet witnessed in our country.

For this purpose, however, the friends of peace must bring and keep the subject before the public mind in every possible way. Neither this cause nor any other will ever work out its own triumph. Means are just as indispensable in this cause as in any other ; and there ought to be a hundred-fold increase of both labor and contribution. There *must* be a very large increase, or it will be vain to hope for more than a mere fraction of the success imperatively demanded by the welfare of our country and the world.

Friends of peace, will you bear this in mind ? It is for you to say what under God shall be done. We are anxious to enlarge our operations till they shall reach every city and village, every nook and corner

of our land ; but we can do no more than our friends give us the means of doing, and must wait to see how much they will do before we can safely calculate the extent of our future operations.

LAKE ARMAMENTS.

ONE of the most interesting incidents that has occurred the past year, affecting the cause of peace, has been the termination, by the action of the United States Government, of that provision in the treaty made in 1815 between the United States and Great Britain by which both the contending parties agreed not to make or keep any naval armaments upon the great Lakes which lie between the possessions of the two countries.

This happy provision had been in operation for fifty years to the entire satisfaction of all parties, until the occurrence of our rebellion, when the rebel authorities, through their emissaries and sympathizers in Canada, took advantage of this pacific state of affairs to commit outrages upon those inland waters, which there was no adequate force in the possession of either of the friendly governments to prevent.

In consequence of this, the House of Representatives of the United States passed, sometime about the 20th of June last (1864), a joint resolution to terminate the treaty, setting forth in the preamble "the necessity of one or more navy-yards upon the Lakes." When this resolution came into the Senate, it was referred to the Committee on Foreign Relations, of which Hon. Charles Sumner is chairman, who objected to it as too warlike, and it was laid upon the table.

Meanwhile, a steamer was seized on Lake Erie by the rebels from Canada, and a raid was made upon St. Albans, Vt. There were, also, menaces from other quarters ; and the President proceeded, during the recess of Congress, to give the necessary notice of the termination of the treaty, in order to provide proper safeguards against the rebels quartered in Canada.

Under these circumstances, Mr. Sumner, on the meeting of Congress, called up the House resolution, still pending before the Committee of the Senate, and offered a substitute, which was adopted, and reported to the Senate January 16, 1865, more than six months after the original resolution had passed the other House. That substitute assigned as a reason for the termination of the treaty, that "the peace of our frontier is now endangered by hostile expeditions against the commerce of the Lakes,

and by acts of lawless persons, which the naval force of the two countries allowed by the existing treaty may be insufficient to prevent."

Such is a brief history of the whole matter. The treaty cannot terminate until one year from the time when the President issued his proclamation, and before that period arrives it is almost certain that all occasion for any measures of defence against Southern rebels or Canadian sympathizers will have passed by; and it may, therefore, be confidently expected that the treaty will be restored between the two countries, and its great advantages be thus permanently secured. A. W.

ANNUAL REPORT.

ALL reform is a hard task. Difficulties without number obstruct its progress. It is a species of moral warfare against the manifold forms of evil found in human society. These evils, long and deeply rooted, it seeks to eradicate, but can do so only in the face of countless malign influences. Depravity and custom, ignorance and misconception, prejudice, passion, and self-interest incessantly strive to neutralize its efforts and impede its progress. It is always a herculean labor. Wrong principles, wrong habits, wrong usages and institutions, must be changed at the very time when education and even religion, that ought to be its pioneers and most effective promoters, array nearly their whole influence in support of evils rendered venerable by their long continuance.

All this we deem pre-eminently true respecting the cause of Peace; and hence every one can see how difficult it must be to steer the bark of such a reform, especially at a crisis like the present, safely between the Scylla and Charybdis of its dangers. We have done our best; but it is vain to think in such a case of satisfying extremes on either hand. We have attempted no such impossibility; but, having adhered through sunshine and storm to the principles and policy announced by our society from its origin, we must now await the verdict of public opinion respecting our course.

GLANCE AT OUR COURSE.

But precisely what has this course been during the present rebellion in our country? The same as ever before, — a practical application to this case of the views we distinctly avowed from the start, and on which we have all along acted in the prosecution of this great reform. Four years ago, within a few weeks after our rebellion had culminated in the capture of Fort Sumter, our society met for a free interchange of views

among its members ; and the result has been a well-nigh unanimous acquiescence in the course we had marked out for ourselves from the first. We find in the sad and terrible experience of these four years no reason to change any part of our principles or our policy, but much to confirm our belief of their essential correctness, wisdom, and necessity.

We need not here repeat the positions we have all along taken. While restricted to the single object of doing away the custom of war between nations by the substitution of rational, peaceful means in its place, we still recognize civil government as necessary for the welfare, if not for the very existence, of human society, and abstain from interference with its ordinary, legitimate functions in dealing with its own subjects. If a real government, it must of course have the right, at discretion, to enact laws and put them in execution. By recognizing its existence we concede to it the exercise of all these powers ; and a due enforcement of law, whether against one offender or a million, we regard as a proper and necessary measure of peace, and no more to be stigmatized as war than would be an effort to arrest and bring to condign punishment the leaders of a mob, or a gang of robbers, incendiaries, or murderers. It may be *called* war, and certainly is accompanied with some of the worst evils of war ; but, after all, it is only a legitimate, indispensable enforcement of law against its wholesale violators. Our government in the present case has attempted nothing more than such an enforcement ; and without the right and the power to do this, it ceases, in fact, to be a government, except merely in name. To stigmatize such enforcement as properly war, would be a misnomer. It has neither the legal nor the moral characteristics of war. War can exist only between two or more nationalities ; but here is merely a single nationality. It is not at all a conflict between nations, but exclusively among ourselves, a domestic dispute between our government and its own subjects ; and the sole question agitated through all these years of blood has been whether our laws shall be enforced against those who violate them, or whether these wholesale transgressors shall be allowed to trample all lawful authority under their feet with impunity. On such an issue we see not how any Christian or man of common sense can fail to take a firm, instant stand in support of the government. It may in many cases have been wrong in its mode of enforcing its laws ; but it must have the right, and is solemnly bound, to execute them at its own best discretion. If this be wrong, then all government must be wrong, and can never be more than a mere figment and mockery.

In accordance with these views, always frankly avowed, we did every-

thing in our power before the rise of this rebellion to dissuade the parties from resorting in any event to the sword. We issued at the time a special appeal, and sent it to more than five hundred leading papers in every part of the land, portraying the guilt and suicidal folly of such a course, warning the combatants of the vast, incalculable evils it would inevitably inflict on them both, and reminding them that the points in dispute, after all, could be finally settled only by rational means. Such means had been jointly provided in their common laws and courts, designed expressly for a peaceful, equitable adjustment of all such controversies; and we urged them, as a matter alike of duty and of interest, to use only such means as these, and cheerfully abide the result. All loyal men were willing to do so; but the rebels, bent on having their own way at all hazards, rushed in hot haste to the sword, and thus left the government no alternative, but either to abdicate in favor of armed rebels, or assert its rightful authority by enforcing its laws against them. This issue, fraught with such fearful consequences, we strove hard to avert; but when it came, we were driven at once to take sides either for or against the government. No other choice was left us. Neutrality was out of the question; and every attempt at neutrality, whether at home or abroad, has been, as common sense should have foreseen it would be, only a practical support of the rebellion, since our rebels, like most wrong-doers, asked nothing more than to be let alone, or, in other words, allowed to do as they pleased. All our modes of reasoning as Christian reformers compel us to be loyal; and loyalty, if it means anything to purpose in such an emergency, must mean a hearty, steadfast support of the government in maintaining its authority and executing its laws. It has done, in the present case, nothing more than this; and however great the cost in treason and blood, we see not how it could have acted otherwise without abandoning all government, and leaving society to drift down into anarchy and utter ruin.

OUR PRECISE MISSION.

Here, then, comes the great practical question, Is it possible to prevent such terrible evils as these? We believe it is possible, but not without a general prevalence of such principles and habits as are inculcated by the friends of peace. *It is our specific mission to educate every Christian community into these views; and if they had been woven into the habits and character of our people fifty years ago, THIS REBELLION COULD NEVER HAVE COME.* Such an education of our people will be a sure antidote to like evils in future; but without such an education, we shall be liable to them through all coming time on the rise of any great, all-ab-

sorbing dispute. True, the present generation have probably suffered too much to re-enact precisely the same species of madness ; but such habits as attempted this rebellion would need only a sufficient temptation to repeat, upon a still broader scale, a like game of blood at some future day. Our only security will be found, under God, in a right education of our whole people in the principles of peace. If this be done, rebellion will forever become a moral impossibility ; but, if not done, our posterity will be perpetually exposed, on one issue or another, to just such evils as the present rebellion has brought upon us.

PROSPECTS OF OUR CAUSE.

With these views, it surely becomes the friends of peace to gird themselves with fresh zeal for their work. However difficult, it is by no means a hopeless task. God and his gospel, reason, humanity, and the great interests of mankind are all on our side. No cause was ever stronger in its main arguments ; nor are we without some encouragement even from passing events. However black the cloud hanging awhile over ourselves, all is not dark around us. There has been elsewhere unquestionable progress in our cause, not very marked, yet real and encouraging. Europe has been reaping a partial harvest of good results from the seeds sown there by the friends of peace during the last half-century. Its great powers, on the Dano-German question, were for a time brought to the verge of a general war ; and such a catastrophe was averted only by the prevalence of better views than prevailed a century ago. This change, though slow and imperfect, clearly came from God's blessing on efforts in our cause ; and how much good has thus been secured, or how much evil prevented in this case, no finite mind can fully conceive. Public opinion in Europe, from the disastrous eclipse during the Crimean War, is gradually emerging into a brighter future than has ever dawned upon our cause there, and will probably be found before many years not only to sanction, but imperatively demand a partial, progressive adoption in some form of the measures which the friends of peace have so long been urging.

Nor are we without hope for our cause even here amid the ashes of as wide and terrible a conflagration as the world ever saw. It is too early to calculate its entire influence on the cause of peace. For a time we must, of course, expect serious obstacles to its revival and future progress. From such a universal shock and convulsion, no people can recover themselves at once. We ought to be thankful if any shall do so in a whole generation ; and meanwhile we should wait, in assured faith and un-

wearied zeal, for the better day that is sure to come in God's good time. No night or storm can last forever; and after such a night and storm as we have just passed, we may hope at length to see sunshine rising once more upon our pathway.

We ought not, however, to be too sanguine of immediate success in our cause. It must in such a civil strife have lost for a time much of its former prestige; and meanwhile the old war spirit and war logic have regained a well-nigh universal ascendancy among our people. The war virus has necessarily been injected into the moral arteries of the nation. More than thirty millions of people have incessantly breathed a war atmosphere for four years. Everybody has been looking to the sword as under God the arbiter of our fate; and upon our fleets and armies, our warriors on land and sea, has hung the question whether our republic shall survive or perish, and freedom or slavery rule the land and the continent. No wonder if the result should be a temporary triumph of the war principle; nor ought we to be disappointed at finding for some years to come a large increase of obstacles to the progress of our cause. Passion, prejudice, and a host of selfish interests may array themselves in obstinate resistance to our labors, and compel us to contest anew nearly every point that we had won by half a century of argument and effort. Such is the nature of the hydra we combat; and, drunk for four long years with fraternal blood, it may well calculate for a time on more vigor and vitality than ever. The successful warrior is likely to be for one generation at least the popular idol; and every aspirant to office and power will throw his sop to the Cerberus of war. Thousands of officers, and millions of the rank and file, each with a circle of friends around him, will unite to glorify the struggle that gave them so much consequence, and now insures more or less support to so many widows, orphans, and invalid pensioners.

After all, however, this strange episode in our hitherto peaceful history cannot fail to furnish larger opportunities and stronger motives than ever to efforts in our cause. Never before did the world witness in four short years so vast an accumulation of arguments in favor of peace; and if this bitter and terrible experience, this sacrifice of so many hundred thousands of lives, this waste of so many myriads on myriads of property, this drenching of nearly half a continent in blood and tears, shall not suffice, when the argument is rightly used for the purpose, to dissuade the mass of our people from reliance on the sword, and constrain them in future to employ better means for the settlement of their controversies, we may well deem them incorrigible, and given over to ultimate, irretrievable ruin.

God forbid that we should be compelled to indulge such gloomy forebodings as these respecting our country. With a policy hitherto more peaceful than any other nation in Christendom, and with habits, especially in the loyal States, strongly averse to war, we find many reasons for the hope that the close of the rebellion will be followed in due time with a large and permanent increase of interest in the cause of peace. It certainly will be, if Christians, philanthropists, and patriots do their duty by turning the facts in the case into effective arguments for such an education of our entire people in the principles and habits of peace as will be needed to prevent the return of similar evils in future.

THE DEMAND NOW UPON THE FRIENDS OF PEACE.

Here, then, is the great duty to which the providence of God is now calling us. It is a glorious work, second in importance and urgency to no other; a work preliminary and indispensable to every other for the welfare of our country; a work to which patriotism, humanity, and the cause of Christ urge us by all the motives that can come from three worlds. If this work shall be done, as it may and should be; if the numberless facts and arguments accumulated during these four years of fire and blood, of anguish, bereavement, and desolation, shall be condensed into so many pleas for peace, and scattered like the leaves of autumn all over the land, in every hamlet and habitation; if the mass of good men among us, the Church and her ministry of every name, the press, the pulpit, and the platform, the fireside, the common school, and our higher seminaries of learning, shall all unite everywhere to recast public opinion on this subject in the mould of the gospel, we shall behold ere long a new era dawning not only on our own country, but through the world.

It would, of course, be too much to expect all this at once; but we should not be surprised to see the close of the rebellion followed by peaceful results quite unusual in the world's history. Foreigners not well acquainted with the character of our people, and the working of our institutions, have predicted all manner of evils immediately consequent upon this long and desperate struggle with our rebels; but, if true to our past history, we shall soon disband our vast armies, dismantle our formidable navy, and send our citizen warriors back to their old arts of peace with few, if any, cases in the loyal States of resistance to the government. It will, indeed, be a marvel to the world, but only a fair illustration of our character and institutions. All this we began to do in one fortnight after the decisive blow was given to the rebellion, and with the

prompt, hearty concurrence of our soldiers and all our people. There has been no development of a disposition anywhere to create a military dictatorship, but the military has uniformly submitted cheerfully to the civil authority. This strife has given birth to no Cæsar, Cromwell, or Napoleon. It is a new chapter in the world's history, an unexpected and most hopeful commentary on the working of popular government by an educated Christian people. Instead of continuing, as is usually done in Europe, our large armaments, we shall reduce them, just as fast as we safely can, to the smallest scale that will suffice to maintain the national authority in the rebellious States, and guard their orderly return to the Union under the new arrangements rendered necessary by the new order of things.

Such are our present hopes ; and if these shall be realized, there will in time, if not very soon, be opened before the friends of peace a vast and glorious field that must call for a hundred-fold increase of effort. We have as yet hardly begun the great work of peace ; and not one man in a thousand conceives its full magnitude and importance. In the last half-century it spent in this country an average of less than three thousand dollars a year ; but henceforth there ought to be expended full half a million. Even this would be for a whole year scarce a tithe of what this rebellion has cost or wasted on both sides every day ; and had one thousandth part of what it has sacrificed in treasure alone been used aright during the last sixty years to educate our whole people, East and West, North and South, in the principles of peace, this rebellion could never have come. Such an education is the cheapest and only sure guarantee against like evils in future ; and it now remains to be seen whether we will henceforth rely for our safety on the sword, or on the gospel woven into the habits of our entire people. If the latter, we cannot begin the work too soon, nor push it with too much vigor until it shall reach every hamlet and fireside in the land.

PEACEFUL COURSE OF OUR GOVERNMENT.

We cannot here review the political events of the last year ; but we rejoice especially in the success with which our rulers have guarded, during all the rebellion, against collision with foreign governments. The danger has been at times very imminent ; but they have steered the ship of state clear of the breakers. We trust they will continue the same peaceful policy, nor yield for a moment to any temporary outburst of popular displeasure against what may be deemed manifestations of enmity. The conduct especially of England and France towards us was for a time highly censurable ; but, as they were likely to injure themselves most,

and have come at last to treat us with respect, and expressions of sympathy and good-will, the past ought to be forgotten, and in no case allowed to breed either war or permanent ill-will. If disputes arise, let them be settled only by rational, peaceful means, never by the blind, brutal arbitrament of the sword. We are glad to find a prompt disposition on our part, if not on theirs also, to adjust such controversies in the last resort by arbitration; and devoutly do we hope, as we have much reason to believe, that we shall emerge from this terrible ordeal of rebellion without permanently disturbing our friendly relations with any foreign government.

At one time the past year, we had serious fears that a warlike policy would in an evil hour be inaugurated along our northern frontier. At the close of our last war with England in 1815, it had been agreed to discard on the lakes and along the border all armaments beyond what might be necessary for the purposes of a peaceful police. This policy had worked admirably well for nearly fifty years; but the persistent efforts of our rebels to make Canada a base of hostile invasions against us, strongly tempted us to revoke this wise, peaceful policy, and it was at one time proposed to set iron-clads or other war-ships afloat on our lakes. It would have been a suicidal policy; and in fear of its adoption, we requested one of our leading friends, once a member of Congress, to visit Washington on the subject, and were glad to learn that these warlike measures, if ever seriously entertained, had been relinquished, and that the peaceful policy which had worked so well for half a century, was to be continued.

DEATH OF FRIENDS OF PEACE.

Our cause the past year has suffered sorely from the death of prominent friends, both here and in England. Last autumn we mourned a venerable associate, whose decease was thus noticed on the records of our society: "The Executive Committee, having learned the decease of their late associate, BENJAMIN GREENLEAF, Esq., desire to enter upon their records their testimony to the excellence of his character, and their gratitude for his faithful services on this committee for nearly twenty years. Born September, 1786, and deceased October, 1864, he had reached the ripe age of seventy-eight, faithful to the last year of his long life in effective labors, especially for the cause of education, to which he had constantly devoted himself from the time he was graduated at Dartmouth College. He was long and widely known as a successful teacher, but still more as the author of mathematical school-

books, which won a high and enduring popularity, and made his name familiar to many millions in all parts of our land. As a patron, if not the originator, of Teachers' Institutes in this State, as a member of the Legislature for a series of years, and in many other relations, he deservedly won a distinguished place in the esteem and gratitude of the community."

In the month of March, 1865, died in the city of New York, WILLIAM B. CROSBY, at the age of eighty, one of the vice-presidents of our society, a fast and liberal friend of our cause, prominent in nearly all Christian enterprises, a man of commanding influence alike in church and society.

At nearly the same time, died in New Jersey another friend at the age of eighty-four, SAMPSON V. S. WILDER, long and well known, not only in this country but in Europe, as an eminent merchant, and an active, ardent promoter of the benevolent enterprises that distinguish the present era. For nearly ten years from the organization of our society, he was wont to preside at its anniversary in New York, though he refused its presidency, insisting that the honor belonged of right to its founder, WILLIAM LADD.

The press has just reported the decease, in Maine, of a still more aged member of our society, an early personal friend and co-worker of Ladd, the venerable and highly-esteemed DAVID THURSTON, D. D., at the age of eighty-seven. Entering the ministry in 1806, he was for more than forty-five years pastor of the Congregational Church in Winthrop, and proved himself for sixty years an able, judicious, and very zealous champion of all the great Christian enterprises, alike of benevolence and reform, that characterize the present day, a leader especially in those of temperance, peace, and anti-slavery. He was one of the few that inaugurated the anti-slavery movement in this country, and after standing from the first by William Ladd in the cause of peace with all the zeal of a young man, he went, at the age of nearly seventy-five, to attend, as one of our delegates, the Peace Congress at Frankfort, Germany. He was an Israelite indeed, without guile, and has left behind him few, if any, better specimens of Christian and ministerial excellence.

In England our cause has lost two of its most devoted friends, ALEXANDER BROCKWAY and RICHARD COBDEN. Mr. Brockway was for more than a quarter of a century the chief actuary at the office of the London Peace Society, and discharged its duties with much fidelity and success, leaving its service only when age compelled his retirement. Richard

Cobden, though never a full believer in the radical principles of peace, was for the last fifteen years of his life a bold, ardent, unflinching champion of its great practical measures. At the Peace Congresses in England and on the Continent, he advocated them with all the wisdom, tact, and persuasive eloquence that so eminently distinguished this great modern Commoner of England. Deeply must our cause feel in his death the loss of her most popular, most effective champion, especially in prosecuting her great measures of NON-INTERVENTION, SIMULTANEOUS DISARMAMENT, STIPULATED ARBITRATION, AND FINALLY A CONGRESS OF NATIONS. May God raise up some Elisha to wear the mantle of the departed Elijah.

OUR OWN OPERATIONS

Have been continued, as during the last four years of the rebellion, on the moderate scale allowed by the times and our small means. We have kept our office, and issued our regular publications very much as heretofore, but have waited for the return of peaceful times to extend our operations. Our income has sufficed to meet our expenses, and we have, as for the last nineteen years except one, a slight balance on the right side of the ledger. Our receipts for the year have been \$3,060.04, and our expenditures \$2,978.88, leaving in the treasury \$81.16.

NEW EFFORTS FOR PEACE.

VIEWS OF LEADING FRIENDS ON THE SUBJECT.

1929 MOUNT VERNON ST., PHILADELPHIA,
May 8, 1865.

DEAR BROTHER BECKWITH,—

Your favor of the 29th April is received. I am sorry that my health does not allow me to be at our approaching anniversary, but hope you will have notice given in the pulpits and religious papers, and have a large attendance and a warm spirit.

I can discover, in present and recent circumstances, neither cause nor inducement to adopt new measures, or prosecute old ones by new expedients. Our principle is immutable. Our measures need not vary to suit ephemeral forms of thinking; for the sentiments of mankind are to be fashioned by our principle; and this must be done as the smith fashions his iron,—by persistent blows with the same hammer.

The sublimest things are the simplest. And what is more simple or more sublime than the work of bringing mankind to settle their international disputes by reason? No surges of public sentiment can disturb the immutable doctrine that "peace on earth" is both possible and predicted. No argument has ever been advanced to show that war is preferable to peace, or that the conflicts of national interests or national pride are soonest composed by discarding discussion, and recurring to measures which tax, waste, and destroy both parties, without diminishing hate, or removing the cause of discord.

We are in danger, as a society, of regarding too much our own national

conflict, and allowing it to paralyze or suspend our efforts, which regard all mankind, all periods, and all possibilities. We must quietly press on in our work of proselyting, just as Christianity does, whatever be the times. We must write and print and lecture, as we have done; and to do this we must collect and give money. There our work begins and ends. We shall not live to see the triumph of our principles. What reformers ever did? Wilberforce and Clarkson died without the sight of African emancipation. Jesus Christ died, and his apostles, without seeing the triumph of Christianity.

Our rebellion, though having the proportions of a great war, is an event which in no wise falls within the purview of our society's grand project and purpose; and, as members of the society, we discuss neither its proprieties nor its consequences. Government is God's institution, and he gives magistrates swords. Whether these be wielded against individual criminals, or gangs of criminals, or great armies of conspirators, the authority is the same. With the functions of magistracy our society has nothing to do: we are only required as citizens to uphold and defend their just and necessary exercise. Our talk is about international matters, and those only; and nothing has occurred to impair our arguments, or to make the enunciation of them impertinent, untimely, or futile.

If we have faltered because of the resonant clamor called forth from Joyal hearts by a tremendous attack on our national life, it is not to be wondered at, but it is not to be excused. Let us resume our exertions with undiminished faith, and with energies recruited by the pause, and go forth again to claim universal attention to our holy mission,—*the abolition of war as a mode of settling international disputes.*

May you have life and strength to prosecute your blessed work with renewed earnestness and unprecedented success!

Yours with affectionate respect,

HOWARD MALCOM.

BRUNSWICK, May 10, 1865.

REV. DR. BECKWITH:

Dear Sir,—I thank you for your recent letter, and for the confidence, which is implied in your asking my opinion as to the course to be pursued in the future.

I have been entirely satisfied, in view of the principles of the society and its former history, with the course which has been taken during the progress of the rebellion. And now that this atrocious attempt is subdued, I see no better course than to place ourselves as soon as possible in the position which we formerly occupied. In other words, I think the society should labor, as it has done in the past, to make known the great evils of war, to promote on Christian principles the spirit of brotherhood among all nations, and to press upon the attention of our own government, and of other governments, the easily-practicable and effective method of terminating war by means of arbitration. It is very desirable that our nation, now starting upon a new and more glorious career, should testify its gratitude to God by introducing into all our treaties this great principle. The example would be likely to be followed by other nations, and in the end peace be established throughout the world. We must now begin our labors with increased zeal. The moment is a propitious one.

Hoping that your highly-useful labors in this great cause may be long continued,

I remain sincerely yours,

THOMAS C. UPHAM.

ELGIN, ILL., May 7, 1865.

REV. G. C. BECKWITH, *Sec. Am. Peace Society*:

Dear Sir,—I believe I partly promised at your request to make some suggestions with regard to efforts for the peace cause in the North-West after the war is over. The necessity of such efforts forces itself more and more on my mind. Unless they are made, not only here, but all over our country, I fear that ere long we shall be involved in terrible wars with foreign nations.

But in writing to you I need not urge their necessity; and I feel a diffidence in suggesting plans of action, as you know much better what plans are expedient and practicable than myself. It seems to me, however, that the country ought to be traversed by lecturers on the peace cause, and flooded with publications on the subject. The power of our society ought to be greatly intensified, and its working machinery increased a hundred-fold. You ought to have several agents in each of the larger States, who will not only visit the principal places, but the hamlets and rural districts; men who will not only lecture on this subject, but engage personally in the circulation of peace publications; men who will not only do what they can themselves, but enlist others, especially pastors and editors, and who will furnish brief articles frequently to every editor who will publish them.

Of course, this will involve increased expense; but with the right plan, and the right kind of men to carry it out, the expense can be provided for on the ground. Let each lecturer appeal for funds at every public meeting. Let them also make personal application for money in their visits from house to house. Let there be a reasonable profit on the books sold, and, wherever practicable, let the friends of the cause, both male and female, be enlisted to canvass certain districts with these books, and with subscription papers for the peace cause, thus reaching thousands who could not be reached personally by the agent himself.

I enclose a copy of my annual statement in relation to efforts for the Bible cause in this State during the past year, from which you will see that in this cause, although we have some fifteen or twenty travelling agents, we not only pay our own way, but give some \$30,000 per annum to the Bible Society to aid in supplying other places. I would have efforts for the peace cause correspond somewhat to ours for the Bible cause. I would have as many good travelling agents as I could secure and sustain, or rather make *sustain themselves*. I would have them both lecturers and distributors as are ours; and I would have them pay their own way as ours do, and much more.

But instead of organizing branches as we do, I would have them prosecute a sort of "volume agency," as pursued by the American Tract Society twenty or thirty years ago, before the introduction of colportage; that is, present the cause, and then call for volunteers to canvass, with the volumes of the society for sale, and its tracts for distribution. In this way the agent might have an appointment every evening, and return over the same ground at the end of a week or more to gather up the books remaining, and receive the money for those sold.

I am aware that the great difficulty in prosecuting this enterprise will be to secure the right kind of men to act as agents. But as you are acquainted with friends of the cause in various parts of the country, I doubt not you can secure men for the service, and they can aid you in securing others. Trusting that the time will soon arrive when you will be able to make the influence of our society felt powerfully all over our country, and that you will be guided in your efforts by the God of peace,

I remain yours truly,

A. LORD.

Other communications had been received from leading friends on the question of our future operations, one especially from Hon. GERRIT SMITH, who says, "*Now is the very time to work for an International Congress. Why not send an admirable address to the President on the subject, and circulate petitions addressed to Congress? There could be hundreds of thousands of names appended to them.*"

A LARGE INCREASE OF EFFORTS DEMANDED.

BY GEO. C. BECKWITH.

ON this subject it is clear that the men charged for more than quarter of a century with the management of this great Christian reform have some special claims to a respectful hearing. It is quite true that even we ourselves have scarcely begun as yet to conceive its full magnitude and importance; but, having necessarily become somewhat familiar with the vast field which it covers, and with the peculiar difficulties it has to encounter, we ought to know more than most persons what is requisite for its successful prosecution.

We cannot conceal our surprise and chagrin at finding the very leaders of this reform betray from the first such inadequate conceptions of the means indispensable to its success. It is more than fifty years since Noah Worcester, the venerable pioneer and champion of this cause in our country, sent forth that admirable appeal to the Christian world, his "*Solemn Review of the Custom of War.*" It struck the key-note of a new era in the world's history; and, had the friends of God and man responded to the call as they ought, it might ere this have won a signal triumph; but in the twelve or fifteen years during which he devoted himself to the cause with the zeal of an apostle, I cannot learn that from all its friends it received in any year more than \$500, and most of the time much less than this meagre sum. In the intellectual department, the working of mind in its behalf, the deficiency was not so glaring; but even here very little was done in comparison with what was needed. Worcester was not only its Coryphaeus, but its man of all work. He did most of its thinking, and made himself alone responsible for its expenses. With the exception of his illustrious friend, the gifted and eloquent Channing, scarce a single mind aided him much in its illustration and diffusion. His organ, "*The Friend of Peace,*" contained little beyond what he wrote or gleaned. He was left pretty much alone, with less than \$500 a year, to carry on a cause in which half a million of Christians ought to have zealously co-operated, and to have given from

the start not less than fifty or a hundred thousand dollars a year for its energetic prosecution all over the land.

The mantle of Worcester fell on William Ladd, the founder of the American Peace Society in 1828. We all know what rare qualifications he had for the cause which he espoused with a zeal so ardent and indomitable ; but for the first ten years the society's income, beyond what came from his own purse, was less than \$500 a year, nor has it ever exceeded \$7,000, while it has for the last twenty-five years averaged less than \$4,000.

With such a mere pittance of means, how was it possible to hope for any considerable success in an enterprise so vast and exceedingly difficult? Such a hope would be palpably absurd. Every end requires for its attainment adequate means, no less in the cause of peace than in everything else. The wrong principles, habits, and usages that have prevailed on the subject of war from time immemorial not only in pagan and barbarous countries, but in Christendom itself, must be recast in the mould of the gospel. There must be a thorough change in the common modes of thought and feeling ; and to effect such a change, the chief engines of influence on the public mind must be set at work until the community shall everywhere be saturated with the spirit and principles of peace, and come habitually to view with horror the practice of nations settling their disputes by the reckless butcheries of the battle-field. The question in its practical bearings must be brought and kept before the fireside, before common and higher seminaries of learning, before churches and ecclesiastical bodies, before State legislatures and the national Government, before the entire mass of our people through the press, the platform, and the pulpit.

Here is a brief outline of what needs to be done ; but can even a tithe of all this be done without a very large increase of labor and contributions? When the temperance cause was in full progress thirty years ago, a single State society spent nearly \$50,000 a year ; and politicians have confessed that it had sometimes cost twenty-five millions of dollars to carry on a presidential canvass. Our work is vastly more difficult ; and must it not be vain to hope for full or decisive success without a very large increase of means?

Just glance at some details of our work. There are in our country, or were before the rebellion, four or five thousand periodicals ; and every one of these ought in some way to be enlisted in habitual advocacy of this cause. We have already about eighty tracts stereotyped, besides a number of volumes ; and all these, along with others much needed, ought to

be scattered far and wide in every city and village, every hamlet and habitation. Effective arrangements should also be made to keep alive everywhere a healthy agitation of the question; and this would require one or more agents in every State to watch over the cause, to correspond and lecture on the subject, to promote a general circulation of our publications, and procure petitions to our rulers in behalf of its objects. In such ways as these might fifty or a hundred agents be wisely employed in scattering broad-cast over the land such seeds of peace as would in time bring forth a rich and glorious harvest.

A system of means somewhat like this ought to have been inaugurated from the first. The cause should have started with twenty or thirty lecturers in the field, and with an expenditure of not less than thirty or forty thousand dollars a year; and this scale of operations should have kept pace with the increase of our population until the remotest corners of our land were reached and permeated by their influence. All this *might* have been done; and had it been, the world would never have heard of the terrible rebellion that has for so many years drenched our land in fraternal blood and tears. How easy to have done all this! The bare interest upon a single half-day's cost and waste on both sides of the late conflict would have more than sufficed for the purpose.

Here, then, ought to be pressed the question, Will the friends of God and their country unite even at this late hour to furnish the means requisite for such a consummation? If not, it is vain to hope for it now or ever; for in this cause, as in every other, results can be reached only by God's promised blessing on a right use of the means he has appointed. These are all found in a proper application of the gospel to the case. Everything, under God, turns on this pivot; and it now remains for its friends to say whether this cause shall hereafter, as heretofore, drag out a feeble, sickly existence, or shall start forth upon a career of sure and signal triumph.

We beg you always to bear in mind this condition. If we are to scatter the seeds of Christian peace over this broad land, we must have at least a fifty-fold increase of means. With the pittance hitherto furnished, we never can do it. As well might you think in one short month to bore a tunnel four miles long through Hoosac Mountain with a single score of workmen. No; we must pay the price of success by using the requisite means. Let this be done; and God stands pledged in his word to crown our labors in due time with full success.

PROCEEDINGS AT THE ANNUAL MEETING.

THE thirty-seventh anniversary of the American Peace Society was held in Boston, May 29th, at 3 P. M., in Park Street Church. In the absence of the President, Hon. AMASA WALKER, one of the Vice-Presidents, was called to the chair, and the proceedings opened with prayer by J. A. Copp, D. D., of Chelsea. The report of the Directors was read by Geo. C. Beckwith, D. D., Corresponding Secretary, and that of the Treasurer was presented, both of which were adopted.

Rev. Geo. Trask and R. L. Eastman were appointed a committee to nominate officers for the ensuing year, on whose report the list of officers found on the last page were chosen.

Rev. Dr. Copp, Prof. Crosby, and Rev. L. H. Angier were appointed to draft resolutions for the society's consideration, all of which were adopted, as also a special one by Mr. Angier, and two by Mr. Walker respecting the services of Richard Cobden, M. P., in the cause of Peace. The society then adjourned.

RESOLUTIONS.

1. That the late rebellion, deliberately discarding legal, peaceful expedients for the settlement of disputes, and appealing, instead to the arbitrament of the sword, furnishes a just and striking illustration of the war principle in its suicidal recoil upon those who resort to it; while the course of our government throughout this struggle, in uniformly abiding by law, and insisting on the maintenance of its rightful authority simply by a due enforcement of law against its violators, shows the wisdom and ultimate efficiency of the peaceful policy for which we plead,—reliance upon legal means alone to decide all controversies, whether between individuals or communities.

2. That we find in this case strong reasons for adhering to the distinction we have always made between the enforcement of law and the ordinary operations of war, deeming the former a legitimate measure of peace, but the latter only a blind, inexcusable resort to brute force; the difference that exists between the violation of law on one hand, and the right of government on the other to restrain and punish such violation.

3. That, while we have as a peace society nothing to do with the manifold, very difficult, and vastly important questions touching the future condition and policy of our country, forced upon us by the rebellion, we cannot refrain from expressing our belief, that we shall need more than ever a peaceful policy at home as well as abroad, and our fears lest this new and strange experience of the last four years, this episode of blood in our hitherto peaceful history, shall revive awhile the martial spirit and habits which had so happily begun to fade from the land.

4. That, while free to express, as we have done, our censure of the treatment which our country has received during its struggle with rebels from some of the leading powers in Europe, we shall always do everything in our power to dissuade our people from all thought of retaliating such injuries, or resorting to any other than peaceful measures for the settlement of whatever difficulties may hereafter arise from this domestic strife.

5. That, while regretting that our course during the late rebellion has not in every respect met the approval of some among our excellent co-workers in England, we nevertheless feel quite confident that, if placed in similar circumstances, they would themselves have done essentially as we have, and that unless the cause of peace can be made really compatible with civil government in the exercise of its legitimate powers and functions, in its enactment and execution of law, we can never hope to see this great Christian reform generally or permanently successful.

6. POSITION ON CIVIL GOVERNMENT. — *Resolved*, That while recognizing civil government as indispensable to the welfare of human society, we still leave, as we always have done, our associates in the peace reform, but without any responsibility on our part, to their own views respecting its powers and duties.

7. That, while we strictly adhere to our oft-declared principles, and shall continue to advocate, as our sole aim, the abolition of the war system as a mode of settling disputes between nations, we recognize, at the same time, civil government as an ordinance of God, having the right, and bound in duty, to execute law against evil-doers, and that this declaration in no wise conflicts with the principles of peace.

8. LAW OF NATIONS. — *Resolved*, That the progress of our rebellion has disclosed anew the uncertainty and inadequacy of the so-called Law of Nations as a rule of duty, an arbiter of disputes, or a regulator of intercourse between nations; and for this reason, as for many others, the cause of peace is imperatively needed to obtain such a Congress and High Court of Nations as shall secure for them in time a system of legal, peaceful justice, analogous to what every civilized community has provided for its own members.

9. MR. SUMNER'S SERVICES. — *Resolved*, That the course of HON. CHARLES SUMNER, in successfully opposing, before the United States Senate, the resolution of the military committee "advising retaliation for the cruel treatment of prisoners by the insurgents," deserves our thanks, as it meets our hearty approbation; and we take this occasion, also, to express our great satisfaction with his course during the last four years of frightful civil conflict, believing that, while faithful to the cause of peace, he has never failed to be true to the interests of freedom, or to the honor and welfare of his country.

10. DEMAND FOR INCREASED EFFORTS. — *Resolved*, That the close of our rebellion, bringing with it new opportunities and motives for effort in our cause, calls aloud upon its friends for renewed zeal, and for a much more extended and more effective system of operations.

11. *Resolved*, That the successful prosecution of the cause of peace requires a very large increase of both labor and contribution beyond what it has ever received.

12. *Resolved*, That, in the death of Richard Cobden of the British Parliament, the cause of peace has suffered an irreparable loss. Other men may be as devoted and earnest; but the high position he had attained, and the powerful influence he wielded throughout Europe, enabled him to do more than any other man; and in the great struggle now impending for the mutual and general disarmament of nations, no one was so confidently relied upon as he.

13. *Resolved*, That, while deeply deploring his death, we would improve the sad event as a new incentive to greater activity and zeal in that cause, in the final success of which our deceased friend had the fullest confidence, and to which, to the hour of his death, he ever gave a sincere and effective support.

RICHARD COBDEN:

HIS SERVICES IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

SPEECH OF HON. AMASA WALKER.

Mr. Chairman,— This is an interesting occasion to the friends of peace. At each of our four last anniversaries we have found our country engaged in a most awful and bloody conflict for national existence, with a rebellion that may, without any exaggeration, be said to have been the most powerful and the most malignant the world ever saw. To-day that great contest is closed; the clash of arms is no longer heard. True, order and quietness have not yet been restored; but we have abundant reason to believe that the effusion of blood has ceased, that slavery has been destroyed, and that in the future we shall be a free and happy people. But while we have great occasion to rejoice in the prospects before us, we are called to deplore one of the saddest events which could have happened to our cause in the death of its best and ablest friend. Richard Cobden was the most powerful peace man living, because he had a greater influence amongst the peoples of Europe than any other person, and that influence was always thrown in favor of peace.

Two leading ideas gave character to Mr. Cobden's public life. The first was freedom of commercial intercourse between nations, and the other, permanent and universal peace. To these he devoted all his energies.

His first grand achievement was the abolition of the Corn Laws of England. This was by far the greatest economical revolution ever effected. Adam Smith had announced the principles of Free Trade; but it was Richard Cobden's mission to apply them, and thus elevate Political Economy to a high position as a practical science. His second enterprise, undertaken upon his own volition, but under the sanction and patronage of the prime minister, was the commercial treaty between England and France. This he accomplished by the most persevering labor and the most consummate tact; and thus the two great rival and often hostile nations were united in the closest bonds of commercial interest.

Mr. Cobden's aspirations for universal peace, and his full belief in the practicability of its realization, were the natural result of that philosophy which led him to the promotion of commercial intercourse between different States. He saw the folly of war in the same light that he discovered the folly and wickedness of all restrictions upon trade. He saw with great clearness how absurd was that great system of military preparations and defences, which leave the different nations relatively just as defenceless as ever, yet entail upon them unnecessary and crushing taxation, and constant exposure to all the calamities of war. He felt just as confident that the people could be made to see all this as he did at the outset of his labors for the repeal of the Corn Laws that those cruel enactments could be made to appear in all their odiousness and enormity. It was in this faith that he

gave his adhesion to the London Peace Society, and went as a delegate to the Peace Congress at Paris in 1849, at Frankfort in 1850, and London in 1851.

I had the pleasure to meet him at the Congress at Paris. It was a brilliant assemblage. Victor Hugo presided. Some three thousand persons were in attendance, twelve hundred of whom came over with Mr. Cobden from England. The French Government treated the Congress with great courtesy, and a grand fête was got up at Versailles, in honor of the occasion, to which all the members were invited.

Mr. Cobden was the master spirit in that Congress, and was sustained by some of the finest men in France. Bastiat, Cormenin, Garnier, Girardin, and other very distinguished names, took an active part in the deliberations. Being on the committee of arrangements of which Mr. Cobden was the chairman, I had an excellent opportunity to witness his zeal and efficiency in the cause, and the hearty earnestness with which he gave himself to the work. It was in this strong faith in the cause that he introduced the question of Arbitration and Mutual Disarmament into Parliament, and that he opposed so strenuously the Russian and Chinese wars.

In some of his characteristics Mr. Cobden was very peculiar. He had no higher aspiration than to be a true and useful man; he had no regard for the honors and trappings of office; that which the masses of his countrymen most admired and sought after, he had no esteem for whatever. Indeed, he seemed to have an absolute aversion for all artificial distinctions; and the idea of being elevated above his fellow-citizens by title or rank, he could never endure for a moment. He seemed to believe fully in the old adage, "that the British peerage is the grave of British patriots."

I shall never forget a conversation I had with him in the speaker's gallery of the House of Commons in 1859. He had then just returned from his last visit to America, and found an invitation from Lord Palmerston to take office as President of the Board of Trade, which he declined. I said to him that his friends had hoped he would take a seat in the Cabinet. "How could I do so?" said he. "Lord Palmerston sent for me, and offered me the position; but I told him that, though highly honored, and much obliged by his proposal, I must decline; for I had from my first entrance into public life been his constant and strenuous opponent, and it would be turning too short a corner in my political career to take a place in his Cabinet. 'But,' said his lordship, 'the act would not imply that you approve of my past course, or intend to support my measures in the future, and the Queen would be much pleased at your acceptance of the position.' 'I am sorry,' I said, 'to feel compelled to decline; but I have been too outspoken in my past political action to make it consistent for me to join your administration now. Why, sir, I have often said publicly that your lordship cost the nation a million sterling, and that you were very dear at that.' He smiled at my remark, and courteously accepted my decision. And now," said Mr. Cobden, with great emphasis, "you can see that it was impossible for me to

accept the offer. Moreover, I have no taste for office; the very thought of the show and parade of state occasions is painful to me. How should I feel in court dress with a sword at my side?" And yet the position our friend declined, and the honors and emoluments he so undervalued, are the highest objects of every Englishman's ambition.

It is not my intention, Mr. Chairman, to rehearse the many and noble deeds of Mr. Cobden. I would merely present some of the numerous testimonials to his great worth which have appeared in British journals, many of which were opposed to him politically while living. These will show most painfully how truly our cause has sustained in his death a great loss. The disinterestedness of Mr. Cobden was most remarkable. "No man," says the *London Morning Post*, "was so indifferent to his own advancement. He not only refused title and honor; he twice refused to be a Cabinet minister. Although he was not wealthy, and an official salary could hardly have been a matter of indifference to him, he preferred the independent position of a private member of Parliament."

"No life," says another London journal, "was ever devoted to worthier work; no ambition ever more unselfish and unstained; no victory more signal, more bloodless, more beneficent. Not one object can we recall which Richard Cobden made his special aim which was not worthy of a patriot, statesman, and philanthropist; no one instance of even the appearance of personal and unworthy motives."

In speaking of him in the House of Commons, Lord Palmerston said, "Great as were Mr. Cobden's talents, great as was his industry, and eminent as was his success, his disinterestedness of mind equalled them all. He was a man of great ambition. His ambition was to be useful to his country, and that ambition was amply gratified. When this present government was formed, I was authorized graciously by Her Majesty to offer Mr. Cobden a seat in the Cabinet. Mr. Cobden declined; and in doing so, he frankly told me that he thought he and I differed greatly upon many important questions of political action, and he therefore thought it would not be comfortable either to himself or myself to join the administration of which I was the head. I think he was wrong; but I will say that no man, however strongly he may have differed from Mr. Cobden upon general political principles, or the application of those principles, could have come into communication with him without carrying away the strongest personal esteem and regard for the man with whom he differed."

The two great achievements of Mr. Cobden were, first, the abrogation of those laws which limited the importation of corn, which gave a great development to the industry of the country, and then the commercial arrangement which he negotiated with France, and which has also greatly benefited the commercial relations of this country. When the latter achievement was accomplished, I knew he would not accept office, and therefore it was my lot to offer to Mr. Cobden those honors which the Crown can bestow in the form of a baronetcy and a seat in the Privy Council. These are honorable distinctions which it would have been a gratifying reward to the Crown to have bestowed upon him, and I do not think it would have been at all derogatory for him to have accepted them; but that same disinterested spirit which marked all his conduct, whether public or private, led him to decline these honors which would have been readily bestowed.

I can only say that the country has sustained a loss which all the country

must feel. We have lost a man who may be considered to be peculiarly emblematical of the constitution under which all have the happiness to live, because he rose to great eminence in this House, and rose to acquire an ascendancy in the public mind; not by virtue of any family connections, but solely and entirely in consequence of the power and vigor of his mind applied to purposes evidently advantageous to his country. Sir, Mr. Cobden's name will be forever associated with and engraved on the most interesting pages of the history of this country; and I am sure that there is not a man in this House who does not feel this day the deepest regret that the House has lost one of its brightest ornaments, and the country one of her most useful servants."

The *Caledonian Mercury* thus notices Mr. Cobden's decease:—

"Richard Cobden is dead. There is not a corner of the British dominions, nay, not a spot on the wide earth, where humanity has a home and civilization a centre, in which this unexpected and overwhelmingly sorrowful intelligence will not be received with the profoundest regret. The loss is indeed national; nay, more,—it is universal. Richard Cobden has not only done the State service; he has done service to the world. He has not only conferred blessings on the British public,—blessings which are increasing by years and must go on extending by centuries; he has also been the means, under Providence, of blessing whole continents, opening up to them the advantages of free trade, and converting them to the belief that there are higher and nobler means of settling national disputes and reforming national abuses than by the arbitrament of arms."

Another journal thus notices Mr. Cobden's death:—

"Throughout his long public career Mr. Cobden manifested a pure and unselfish patriotism. His object was neither self-aggrandizement nor the injury of others. He advocated his political views for their own sake, and did so with a force and eloquence which always commanded both admiration and respect. In the early part of his political career he sacrificed his private fortune for the public interests; and at a later period he declined public honors which the Government were often anxious to bestow upon him. The deeds of Richard Cobden will ever be held in remembrance by a grateful nation, and his name be regarded by them as the embodiment of wisdom and virtue."

The *Sussex Advertiser* says,—

"If ever a single-minded, sincere, and thoroughly-honest statesman existed, it was Richard Cobden. His career has given evidence of this at every step throughout his political life. Few men either would or could have devoted themselves so entirely to one object as Richard Cobden did when directing every energy of body and mind to obtaining the repeal of the Corn Laws. And who of the statesmen who have ever signalized themselves by such a triumph as that which was consummated in Free Trade have shown the singleness of purpose or the humility of mind to reject honors, office, and power? Yet such a man was Richard Cobden. The earnest apostle of Free Trade, he strove to obtain it in order to carry out a great principle, not to aggrandize himself; indeed, his entire negation of self finds striking evidence in the fact that it was his strong opponent, Sir Robert Peel, from whom the public acknowledgment came that it was to Richard Cobden that the honor of repealing the Corn Laws of right belonged."

The *Star* thus alludes to Mr. Cobden:—

"The House of Commons applauded to the echo the lofty tribute which Mr. Disraeli paid to Mr. Cobden when he asserted that he was the greatest

political character the pure middle class of this country has yet produced. They shared in Mr. Bright's emotion when he touchingly alluded to his presence at that closing scene, when 'the manliest and gentlest spirit that ever quitted or tenanted a human form departed this life.' But only future generations can rightly measure the loss we have sustained by Mr. Cobden's untimely death, or adequately estimate the value of the services it has been his privilege to render to his country and to mankind. It is for the living who cherish his memory, and believe in the principles to which he devoted his life, to testify their fidelity to both by emulating his unselfish zeal and patriotism, and by resting politics, as he did, upon the broad foundations of truth and morality."

In his manners and bearing toward his fellow-men he was perfectly simple and unassuming. There was nothing of hauteur, nothing of an assumed superiority, so natural to his countrymen. In this respect he was a most un-English Englishman. Indeed, in person and address he was as perfect a specimen of a well-bred, well-educated American gentleman as could be found on either side the Atlantic. I think it was Mr. Cobden's ambition to show to the people of England that a man could be great without being titled; could perform immense service to his country without being in office. I am glad he never allowed himself to be made Sir Richard Cobden. He lived and died a commoner, and in the truest sense the greatest commoner that England ever had.

Mr. Cobden was a religious man. He had no cant about him. He made few professions, but had a strong and abiding faith in Christianity, as the most reliable and powerful agency in human elevation and improvement.

Rev. Newman Hall thus speaks of him :—

"Cobden knew no distinction of ranks; he was not obsequious to the great nor arrogant to the poor, and was zealous in every work the object of which was to assuage the miseries and raise the position of the poor. He gathered his principles from the Scripture, and founded them upon the 72d Psalm. One of his favorite expressions was, 'You have no real hold upon a man unless he has strong religious faith.' That was what he himself possessed; and his whole life was an illustration of practical Christianity. And Cobden's high honor was to be loved and honored by his own countrymen, and loved and honored by other countries too, and especially by that great country with whom they had been supposed to be in eternal rivalry. In this he was above princes and warriors, who despoiled other countries to enrich their own; for his wise statesmanship and Christian policy, while its first regard was for his own country, was equally advantageous to all countries. Great in noble deeds, great in the achievements of philanthropy, and great in goodness, his body reposed more suitably in Lavington churchyard than in Westminster Abbey, where were monuments to many whose aims and characters were far different from his. He lay under the sunshine and beneath the daisies; was buried with a wide-spreading and genuine feeling of sorrow, and without pomp, which clearly said, 'Know ye not that there is a prince, a great man, fallen this day in Israel?'"

Mr. Cobden was an able speaker. "If there was any art in his speeches," says the London Times, "it was the perfect art of simplicity. With transparent language, and unmistakable logic, he produced an effect almost irresistible, and the frank avowal of Sir Robert Peel, when at length he carried the repeal of the Corn Laws will not soon be forgotten. The merit of

the reform, he declared; was due neither to himself nor his immediate political opponents, but to the unadorned eloquence of Richard Cobden." The *Daily Telegraph* thus speaks: "No agitator ever spoke with such combined clearness and feeling. He was as lucid as if he were a cold statistic proving an opponent's error; he was as generously warm in denouncing a great wrong, as if he were merely an emotional advocate of the people's cause. It was at once noonday clearness and noonday heat."

Mr. Disraeli, in the House of Commons, the day after Mr. Cobden's death, said,—

"I think I may say that, as a debater, he had few equals; as a logician, he was close and compact, and I would say adroit, acute, and perhaps even subtle; yet, at the same time, he was gifted with that degree of imagination that he never lost sight of the sympathies of those whom he addressed; and so, generally avoiding to drive his arguments to an extremity, he became, as a speaker, both practical and persuasive. . . . I believe that when the verdict of posterity shall be recorded upon his life and conduct, it will be said of him that, looking to his expressions and his deeds, he was without doubt the greatest political character that the pure middle class of this country has as yet produced; that he was an ornament to the House of Commons, and an honor to England."

The *London Star*, commenting upon Mr. Cobden, says,—

"No one ever commanded more thoroughly the ear of the House of Commons. Not Fox, whose eloquence was described as rolling resistless as the waves of the Atlantic, not Chatham's majestic elocutionary stage-play, not Pitt's silver voice and balanced declamation, not O'Connell's thrilling periods, not Brougham's impassioned rhetoric, ever exercised a more perfect control over the attention of the most critical of all public assemblies than did the unpretending Saxon style which Sir Robert Peel so admirably described as the unadorned eloquence of Richard Cobden. So luminous was the natural arrangement of the argument, so admirably appropriate was every phrase, so subtle was the force which pierced through the weaknesses of opposing sophistry, so thoroughly had the speaker mastered his whole subject, and, above all, so evident was the sincerity with which he gave himself up to his task, that no prejudice of partisanship, no alarm of interests believing themselves imperilled, could ever prevent opponents from listening with delight to the great orator who dispensed with all the stock arts of rhetoric. Yet Mr. Cobden's genius, utterly unsurpassed as it was in the political life of our day, was assuredly not his greatest quality. They who knew him best, who looked into his pure and open heart, who could appreciate his noble, manly, fearless nature, who saw how entirely devoted he was to the good of his country and the service of his kind, know too well to require any assurance from us how fit he may be to stand before posterity as the type and the ideal of an English patriot."

Mr. Cobden was a firm believer in the doctrines of Political Economy. His knowledge on all subjects was truly wonderful; but upon all economical questions he was the best-informed man I ever met. I first made his acquaintance at Manchester, twenty-two years ago. In conversing with him upon the affairs of this country, I was astonished to find how intimately he understood our moral, financial, and political condition. He had, even at that time, a perfect understanding of that intricate subject, our mixed currency system, and said to me that "he regarded it as a greater

source of demoralization to our people than slavery itself." It was his thorough knowledge of the teachings of political economy which made him so decided and earnest in his advocacy of the cause of peace. He saw war to be the great destroyer of wealth, the chief obstacle to the extension of commerce, and to the enfranchisement and elevation of the masses. He saw, too, the great wastefulness and the stupid folly of the war system; that it was as absurd as it was cruel and oppressive, and he did not believe that a system so at variance with common sense and all the great interests of society, could long withstand the onward progress of a Christian civilization. This great consummation Mr. Cobden had constantly in view, and never failed, whether in Parliament or out, on every suitable occasion, to advocate the principles and policy of peace.

The Daily News thus refers to his labors:—

"So much we owe him; but how much more of admiration is due to the simple greatness which achieved so much, and did it all so gently and so humbly! This son of a Sussex yeoman, this cotton-spinner of Manchester, who in six years reversed the policy of the greatest State in Christendom, who triumphed over the proudest aristocracy in Europe, conducted a bloodless revolution, saved and regenerated his country,—surely, there were here matter for the pride of no less than a Cæsar. But Richard Cobden was greater than a Cæsar. When he had done all this, he accepted simply the offering which the nation made him in lieu of the fortune he had sacrificed, and, without even the false modesty of a pompous retirement, he continued to render such services as an ordinary member of Parliament can perform. Nor did he ever shrink from either obloquy or labor when he thought he could, by speaking or working, be of use to his country. He opposed the universal feeling in favor of the Russian war; he lost his seat rather than give assent to the Chinese war; he gladly accepted from his chief opponent a mission to France to negotiate a commercial treaty which his personal knowledge and the respect paid to him rendered him better able than any one else to accomplish."

The London Star has the following remarks in regard to Mr. Cobden's course on several occasions:—

"The course taken by Mr. Cobden with regard to the Crimean campaign provoked much criticism. We need hardly say that he opposed the policy which brought us into that war. He was not in the habit of considering whether the course he was about to take would be likely to increase or diminish his personal popularity, and in this case he acted on the principle which always governed him. It seemed to him his duty to warn the country against an inconsiderate and, indeed, precipitate policy. It required far more courage to oppose than to support a war. A sudden reaction seemed to take place in the general sentiments of the country. A vehement desire for what was called a spirited policy rendered all words of wise and temperate remonstrance ineffectual. The Russians soon became in the popular mind what the French were in the days of Nelson, or the Spaniards in the days of Drake. The Poet Laureate wrote exultingly of the fact that 'the long, long canker of peace was over and done,' and that the blood-red banner of war was unfurled on the shores of the Black and the Baltic Seas. Mr. Cobden spoke with great force and eloquence both in the country and in the House against the policy which was stimulating war. Every one knows Lord Clarendon's memorable phrase about the country drifting into

war. Mr. Cobden opposed the country's drifting in that or any other direction, particularly in that; but once the war had fairly begun, he recognized the futility of further opposition, and spoke but rarely on the subject. Mr. Cobden was not fond of opposition for its own sake. There was nothing in him turbulent or naturally antagonistic. He simply opposed whatever he thought was wrong or mistaken in our national policy; and he only opposed it when opposition seemed likely to have some effect."

Mr. Cobden, also, strongly opposed the Chinese war, and in the House of Commons offered a resolution declaring "That this House has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the British and Chinese authorities in the Canton River; and without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton." Mr. Milner Gibson seconded the motion, and a memorable debate took place, which ended in the House of Commons adopting the resolution by a majority of 263 against 247. Lord Palmerston appealed to the country, and the country flamed with excitement and passion. The premier had it for the time all his own way. The strangest jumble of parties and of sentiments took place. Liberals and Tories fought side by side against Liberals and Tories. The result of the elections was a triumph for Lord Palmerston. Mr. Cobden lost his seat at Huddersfield; Mr. Bright and Mr. Gibson were unseated at Manchester; Mr. Cardwell lost Oxford; Mr. Layard, Mr. Fox, Mr. Miall, and many other conspicuous politicians, were also victims to the passion of the hour. The triumph was short-lived. Within a year Mr. Milner Gibson had compelled Lord Palmerston to leave office by a motion on the Conspiracy Bill.

Thus were the friends of peace driven from Parliament by the blind furor of the hour; but no sooner was reason restored, and the people had time for calm reflection, than the popular current was changed. The Russian war was an utter failure. It never had a sensible object, and brought only loss and disgrace on England; and Mr. Cobden, Mr. Bright, and others were again returned to Parliament.

The French "*Société D'Economie Politique*" held a "seance" in Paris a few days after the death of Mr. Cobden, at which M. Joseph Garnier said,—

"M. Passy and M. Miel Chevalier have dwelt more particularly on Mr. Cobden's efforts to bring about the triumphs of commercial liberty, at the head of that memorable Manchester Association, and more recently by the negotiation of the Treaty of Commerce. Permit me to detain your attention for a moment with another class of efforts of this illustrious man, by his participation in the Peace Congresses, and his opposition to the military spirit. In accomplishing the great work of Free Trade, the Leaguers, with Cobden at their head, have secured a fruitful reform, which has not only suppressed an unjust and dangerous monopoly, secured bread and work for the laboring classes, given prosperity to commerce, industry, agriculture, and navigation, rendered taxation more tolerable to the people, but which

has already largely contributed to the maintenance of peace, and must do so more and more in times coming. It was with a view to continue his labors for the same end that Richard Cobden joined in the movement commenced by the energetic body of Quakers, took a conspicuous part in the Peace Congresses held in 1849 at Paris, in 1850 at Frankfort, in 1851 in London, and sustained the doctrine of disarmament, of arbitration as a substitute for an appeal to arms, and of non-intervention. Many persons have said that in acting thus Mr. Cobden followed a Utopia. I will not now discuss the question whether he did not, on the contrary, preach an eminently practical policy. I will restrict myself to recalling the fact that in 1856, seven years after the Peace Congress of 1849, the congress of diplomatists, sitting in Paris as a 'Peace Congress,' introduced, among the *desiderata* which it embodied in its protocols, that same proposal of arbitration, brought before them in a memorial presented by two presidents of the Peace Society, Joseph Sturge and Charles Hindley, and their eloquent fellow-laborer, Rev. Henry Richard, secretary of the Peace Society, whom we have received three times at this table. I cannot forget, also, that in 1864, the head of the State in this country made a proposal for a Congress to regulate international difficulties. But whatever may be thought of Mr. Cobden's new ideas of this subject from a practical point of view, it cannot be denied that he has contributed to an excellent propagandism against national prejudices. When, in 1852, that panic commenced, which was followed by so much warlike excitement, Cobden set himself to oppose public opinion, and perhaps sacrificed some of his great popularity in order to tell what he thought to be the truth to his countrymen. He resisted warlike expeditions in distant countries. In a courageous and able pamphlet, he recalled the errors of the English aristocracy and government as respects the complications between France and England in 1792, and during the French Revolution. It was in his anxiety to speak in the same spirit on the question of the Canadian fortifications that he came up to London to die.

M. Foucher de Caneil and M. Benard added some words of cordial admiration and eulogy."

I have thus presented to you the opinions entertained by the foreign press of our departed friend. They show the high estimation in which he was held, and the great influence he wielded. It has given me great pleasure to perform this service. I regard it as one of the most favored circumstances of my life that I had the pleasure of Mr. Cobden's acquaintance, and met him so often during each of my three visits to Europe. As friends of peace, we may all feel proud that we had the co-operation of one so enlightened and able in the great work in which we are engaged. We now deplore his loss, especially in view of the great struggle which is evidently coming on for the utter abolition of the war system, by establishing arbitration between nations, and a general simultaneous disarmament. In this he could have afforded more aid than any other man. But let us not be in the least disheartened; let us not relax our efforts, or lose our faith in the speedy accomplishment of our great object, the pacification of the world. The cause of truth and human progress has never depended on the life of a single man. Our own country is now prepared as never before to appreciate the desirableness, of abolishing the war system. Until the present bloody conflict, war was little more to the people of this country than an abstraction; but now it is a frightful reality. We have seen it in all its horrible mani-

festations, and are to feel it for a long time to come in the terrible burdens it has entailed upon us. Its lessons of suffering and sorrow cannot be lost to us or the world. The common sense of an intelligent people revolts at the thought of a repetition of the awful scenes through which we have passed. Peace will have new advocates. The cause has passed through its period of trial and suffering, and its hour of triumph is at hand. For myself I can say, Mr. Chairman, that I never had a greater or more cheerful faith in the future of our cause than I have to-day. True, one of our champions has fallen; but his labors, his example, his earnest words of encouragement and hope, survive him. We should be grateful that God in his good providence gave us such a friend; that he was continued to us so long; that he did so much for the cause we love; and that he has left behind him the influence of such a bright example, and the precious memories of such a truly heroic and Christian life.

STEADY PROGRESS OF PEACE VIEWS.—Events are coming to bring the cause into notice, and to show the importance of its expedients, if not of its principles. The great debate last summer, in the English House of Commons, afforded irresistible evidence of the progress which peace ideas have made in Parliament during the last few months. It was felt, by both the Conservatives and the Liberals, that a war programme would be fatal to the chances of either; and the tone of the whole debate showed that peace was felt to be a great necessity, not only for the state, but for political parties. Nothing helped to save Lord Palmerston from the humiliation of defeat half so much as his frank and firm adhesion; against his well-known predilections, to a policy of strict Non-Intervention. The Peace Society has been laboring diligently for the last few years to give publicity and prominence to this idea of Non-INTERVENTION. They have proclaimed it in season and out of season; have memorialized governments, and petitioned Parliament in its favor; and though their counsels were long scouted and scorned, they are rewarded at last in seeing their arguments adopted, and Parliament itself showing us its determination to break through the trammels of routine, and establish the future Foreign Policy of Great Britain upon a wise and watchful basis of Non-Intervention. Had the Peace Society done nothing else, this alone would show that it has not labored in vain.

The Peace Society, moreover, has labored, and not without success, to bring before nations STIPULATED ARBITRATION as a substitute for war. This idea has found favor in some of the highest quarters of Europe. It was formally adopted with great unanimity by the representatives of the Great Powers assembled in the Paris Congress at the close of the Crimean War, and an attempt was made by the English and Foreign Secretary to get the Danish quarrel settled by Arbitration. Denmark refused; but the results of that refusal to the poor pugnacious Danes have not been such as to commend their example to other States. The lesson taught by the failure of the London Conference is, not that Arbitration

wont do, but that Arbitration, if resorted to *before war breaks out*, affords the only reasonable prospect of obtaining a satisfactory settlement of the matter in dispute. So much favor cannot have been gained for two such principles as NON-INTERVENTION and STIPULATED ARBITRATION, without proportionably diminishing the probabilities of future war, and paving the way for the adoption of some permanent substitute for the sword.

The next step in the progress of our efforts must be to secure a general REDUCTION OF ARMAMENTS, mutual and simultaneous, throughout Europe. The way is preparing for such a result. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is so far a convert to this proposition, that he has publicly declared his conviction that the interests of this country could be fully maintained, and its safety and requirements all honorably secured, by such a reduction of our armed preparations as would effect a saving of ten millions sterling a year. — *Bond of Brotherhood, abridged.*

WAR BETWEEN ENGLAND AND AMERICA — Any war between these two countries would very much resemble a civil war. Being for the most part of common origin, language, and religion, it would be well-nigh as fratricidal as the struggle between the North and the South on the slavery issue which brought on the slaveholders' rebellion.

Take one great fact, — the emigration from Great Britain to the United States in fifteen years, from 1846 to 1860, nearly all to the Northern States. The whole number, as stated by R. Charleton in a speech at Bristol in 1868, was 2,350,000, a number greater by 30,000 than all the inhabitants of six large counties in England which he named; and these emigrants had left behind them at home a vast multitude of relatives who would be made by war enemies to each other. It would in truth be a sort of internecine war between widely-separated members of the same family. Indeed, what else is war in *any* case but a species of fratricide? Do not all men belong to one great family? Have they not a common Father in heaven, and are they not all brethren?

BLOCKADE RUNNING. — An English paper states that in 1862, 1863, and 1864 no fewer than 111 swift steamers were built on the Clyde to run the blockade of rebel ports. Of the whole 111 steamers, 70 have been either captured or destroyed, leaving at the close of 1864, 29 still running, while 11 were on their way out. The number running at the close of 1864 was larger than at any previous period, which shows the disposition to continue the business; but since all our ports, except those of Texas, are now in our hands, their "occupation's gone," and they will soon have leisure to calculate its losses and gains.

FINANCIAL REVENGE UPON SLAVERY. — Slaveholders had come to regard slavery as giving our country its chief importance in the commerce of the world, and, before the rebellion, calculated the value of their slaves as worth, in round numbers, \$2,000,000,000. Mark now the suicidal recoil of their guilt in attempting to extend and perpetuate this accursed system. In 1860 "the slave property of Kentucky was assessed for taxation at \$107,494,527. In 1863 the valuation was reduced to \$57,511,770, and in 1864 to \$34,179,246." Its governor says, in 1865, "No intelligent man, whatever may be his desires upon the subject, can hope for the perpetuation of slavery in Kentucky. Every State which surrounds us has abolished slavery. The laws for rendition of fugitives are repealed, and there is no possible hope of their re-enactment. The most valuable slaves have enlisted in the army, or fled to other States; those that remain are hopelessly demoralized, and rendered not only valueless, but burdensome. These facts are of general notoriety and indisputable."

Thus do the laws of commerce and finance take their revenge upon the crime of slavery. Early in the rebellion, its advocates might have wrung from our government, as a compensation for their cheerful relinquishment of the system, the market value of all their slaves; but they indignantly spurned the generous offer, and are now doomed to see this enormous amount of reputed wealth reduced literally to nothing, and deemed by the wisest among them a burden and a curse. What a providential rebuke of human folly and crime!

EFFORTS FOR OUR SOLDIERS. — There has been an amount of contribution and labor expended for the physical relief and religious improvement of our soldiers quite unparalleled in the world's history. The Christian Commission, devoted chiefly to the moral and religious interests of our troops, though by no means neglecting their temporal wants, employed during 1864, generally for about two months at a time, 2,217 Christian ministers and laymen, averaging 217 constantly at work in their ministrations of love and mercy, their services gratuitous, and only their incidental expenses paid. The cash receipts for the year were, in round numbers, \$1,300,000, and if we add the value of services and contributions of all sorts, we should find the grand total nearly \$3,000,000.

OFFICERS.

HOWARD MALCOM., D. D., LL. D., PRESIDENT.

VICE PRESIDENTS.

FRANCIS WAYLAND, D. D., LL. D., Providence, R. I.	HON. AMASA WALKER, N. Brookfield, Mass.
HON. CHAS. SUMNER, LL. D., Boston, Mass.	HON. SAM. FESSENDEN, LL. D., Portland, Me.
JOHN PAPPAN, Esq., " "	THOMAS C. UPHAM, D. D., Brunswick, " "
WILLIAM JENKS, D. D., " "	HON. T. W. WILLIAMS, New London, Conn.
BARON STOW, D. D., " "	HON. JOHN JAY, New York.
REV. J. A. COFF, D. D., Chelsea, " "	HON. GERBET SMITH, Peterboro', N. Y.
JOE. E. WORCESTER, LL. D., Cambridge, " "	REV. SAMUEL J. MAY, Syracuse, N. Y.
ANDREW P. PEABODY, D. D., " "	HON. JOHN PRENTISS, Keene, N. H.
	CHAS. D. CLEVELAND, LL. D. Phil. Penn.

DIRECTORS.

REV. CHARLES BROOKS, Medford, Mass.	TIMOTHY GILBERT, Esq., Boston, Mass.
PROF. ALPHEUS CROSBY, Salem, " "	W. C. BROWN, Esq., " "
R. P. STEBBINS, D. D., Cambridge, " "	THOMAS GAFFIELD, Esq., " "
HON. A. WALKER, No. Brookfield, " "	H. H. LEAVITT, Esq., " "
J. A. COFF, D. D., Chelsea, " "	JOHN GOVE, Esq., " "
REV. L. H. ANGLIER, Rockport, " "	JACOB BANCROFT, Esq., " "
WM. JENKS, D. D., Boston, " "	JOHN FIELD, Esq., " "
J. W. PARKER, D. D., " "	JAMES TOLMAN, Esq., " "
BARON STOW, D. D., " "	L. T. STODDARD, Esq., " "
G. C. BECKWITH, D. D., " "	REV. L. R. EASTMAN, " "

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

AMASA WALKER,	J. A. COFF,	W. C. BROWN,
BARON STOW,	G. C. BECKWITH,	H. H. LEAVITT,
J. W. PARKER,	JOHN FIELD,	L. R. EASTMAN.

JOHN FIELD, *Treasurer.*
G. C. BECKWITH, *Corresponding Secretary.*
W. C. BROWN, *Recording Secretary.*

ABSTRACT OF THE TREASURER'S REPORT.

AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY *in account with* JOHN FIELD, *Treasurer.*

RECEIPTS:—

Acknowledged in Advocate of Peace.....	2,295.25
Interest and dividend not included in the above.....	677.76
Publications sold, etc.....	87.03

\$3,060.04

PAYMENTS:—

For the balance due from last account.....	382.63
For rent of office, postage, stationery, meetings.....	117.59
For paper, printing, binding, and other expenses of publication.....	1,326.82
For agency services and travelling expenses.....	983.01
For taxes, and expenses connected with the Ladd Legacy..	168.83
Balance to next account.....	81.16

\$3,060.04

We have examined the foregoing account of the Treasurer of the American Peace Society, and find it correctly cast, and vouchers for all the payments.

WM. C. BROWN }
H. H. LEAVITT, } Auditors.

Boston, May 17, 1865.

July 30

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE

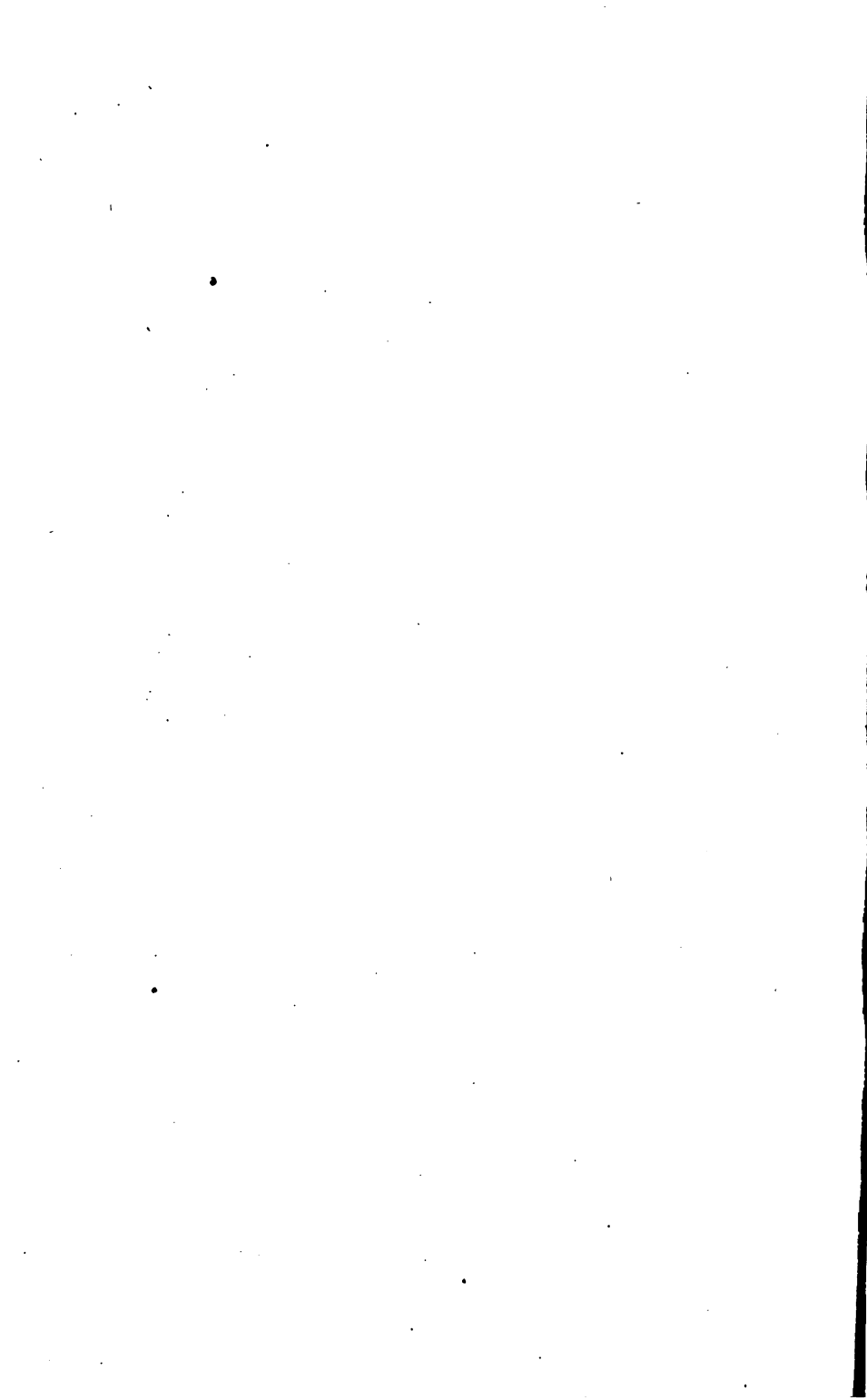
FOR
JULY AND AUGUST.

CONTENTS.

Foreign Missions.....	293	Certainty that War must End.....	307
Need of Peace.....	295	Wealth of Business Men.....	309
Some Good from the Rebellion.....	296	Commerce a Bond of Peace.....	309
Mr. Coan's Letter	297	Everett on the Rebellion	310
War Suicidal.....	301	Nations a Partnership	312
A Widow's Experience of War.....	302	Material Bonds of Peace	313
Wisdom learned too Late.....	302	Some Good from War	316
Havoc of War	303	Military Legislators	317
Objection to a Congress of Nations.....	305	Richard Cobden	318
Argument for War from the Old Testa- ment	306	Thrift of Negroes in New Orleans.....	319
Glimpse of London.....	306	Ecclesiastical Bonds of Peace.....	320
		Our Internal Taxes	324

 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.
CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.
1865.



THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

JULY AND AUGUST, 1865.

FOREIGN MISSIONS:

THEIR SUCCESS COMPARED WITH THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

THE success of efforts during the last sixty years for the conversion of pagans to Christianity has justly become a theme of warm congratulation among Christians. We share these views, and would take occasion to gather from the facts in this case encouragement for the friends of peace in their work.

What, then, has been the actual success of this great enterprise? Take Hindostan, in many respects the most favorable field, as a specimen; and what is the result thus far? "The total number of converts connected with all Protestant missionary societies in India, Ceylon, and Burmah amounted, in 1862," according to the Bombay Guardian, "to 49,688. Of these, the Baptists number 20,950, the Wesleyans, 2,517, and the Church of England, 18,490."

Now, what proportion do all these bear to the entire population? We cannot say precisely; but in all the countries supposed to be covered by the above statement there must, we think, be more than 150,000,000; and, if so, 50,000 converts would be one in 3,000 of the whole population. Thus have missions there, after more than two generations, succeeded in converting to the Christian faith a mere fraction of the *natural increase*. What

has been the rate of this increase, we have at hand no means of calculating with exact certainty; but as our own population has usually increased more than thirty per cent. every ten years, we may safely suppose it may have been in these countries at least ten per cent. in sixty years, or one sixth as great. This would give in sixty years an increase of 15,000,000, of which 50,000 converts would be one in 300, or an increase of three hundred pagans to one Christian convert?

Even for such a degree of success we ought to be devoutly thankful; but is it consistent for those who exult so much in these partial triumphs of the missionary enterprise to doubt or undervalue the progress already made in the cause of Peace? Is not the latter, equally with the former, the cause of God, and just as sure of entire success in the end? Nay, has it not been, in proportion to the means used, much more successful? Look at some facts in the case. Not a hundredth, scarce a thousandth, part as much has yet been done for it; and yet has it in fifty years gained a larger share of its ultimate object than the cause of missions has achieved of its great work; that is, it has done more towards abolishing the custom of war in Christendom—its sole aim—than the missionary enterprise has towards its grand aim, the conversion of the whole world to God.

This we deem a fair and decisive test. Do you say that the war-system still continues among nations reputedly Christian? True; but does not paganism, or some other form of false religion, prevail, outside of Christendom, over all the earth, with the single exception of the Sandwich Islands, containing less than 100,000 inhabitants? If you ask how long it will take, at the rate of progress for the last half-century, to do away the custom of war among nominal Christians, we might answer by inquiring in what year of our Lord you are likely to evangelize all nations by a process that gives as its result an increase of three hundred pagans to a single convert. Yet you believe the cause of Missions a glorious success, while you seem quite sceptical about that of Peace. Is it consistent or honest logic to indulge such easy credulity on one side, and such obstinate scepticism on the other?

Such strange inconsistencies as these must be due, we think, chiefly to the wrong modes of reasoning in which Christians have been unconsciously trained. They would find, on a fair, thorough

examination of the subject, that the cause of peace is in itself even *more* feasible than that of missions, more successful thus far in proportion to the means used, and not a whit less sure of complete final triumph. It is only the promises of God that insure such a result in either case; and these promises are as clear, explicit, and decisive in favor of the world's pacification, as they are of its ultimate salvation, by the gospel rightly applied for the purpose. If we believe or doubt in one case, we must, or should, equally in the other. We all ought to regard each as equally certain, and be ready to labor for the accomplishment of both with equal faith, zeal, and hope.

NEED OF PEACE.

WE need peace for almost every good object conceivable; but when listening lately to large, far-reaching plans of usefulness in departments of Christian benevolence and reform, we could not help thinking how indispensable must be a well-assured, permanent peace to the successful prosecution of all such enterprises. Even our late conflict, though its evils were comparatively so little felt at the North, was, after all, no exception. Let such a state of things as we have witnessed in our land for the last four years continue ten or twenty years longer, and would not nearly every one of these enterprises, now the chief hope and glory of our country, become a wreck and a ruin?

Let us take some specimens. The Unitarians have recently made a very successful effort to diffuse their principles throughout the land; but the one hundred and ten or fifteen thousand dollars raised could be of comparatively little avail, if war were to continue its ravages, or its manifold, ubiquitous disturbances. So of the many noble plans started on behalf of the millions nominally redeemed from bondage. At the General Council of Congregational Churches, recently held in Boston, it was proposed, in view of the wide and hopeful fields opened at the close of the rebellion, to raise the coming year seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, in founding or endowing seminaries of learning at the West, in gathering churches, and furnishing them with pastors and houses of worship. A grand idea! We cannot well conceive a proposal prospectively richer in beneficent results to our country and the

world ; but, without a settled peace, with an indefinite prolongation of a bloody strife that taxed to the utmost all our resources, and engrossed all minds, how utterly must nearly all such schemes of patriotism and Christian benevolence fail in the end !

Peace ! It is the great want of the age, the paramount want of our country and the world. It is more needed than anything else ; preliminary and indispensable to nearly everything good, without which the wheels of progress everywhere would inevitably turn backward. Make sure of this, — a state of permanent peace, with no expense or fear about future wars, — and how certain, rapid, and glorious beyond all past experience, would be the onward march of our race in numbers and wealth, in art, science, and general culture, in commerce, comforts, and everything tributary to human improvement and happiness.

SOME GOOD FROM THE REBELLION. — It would be strange indeed if some good did not arise from every war ; and we have always expected that a great deal would eventually come from the slaveholders' rebellion. No thanks, however, to the rebellion, more than to Judas for the blessed and glorious results that have flowed from the death of the Master he betrayed. The rebellion was all wrong, in itself evil, and only evil ; but God obviously meant to overrule it for good in many ways not yet discovered by us.

In some respects, however, we can already see it working out good results. "The slaveholding politicians," said the New York Post just before the rebellion collapsed, "by artful and passionate appeals to the ignorant poor whites, by the suppression of discussion, and by long-continued misrepresentations of Northern character, 'fired the Southern heart,' and produced a feeling of wild, senseless, unreflecting enmity in the South towards the North. To hundreds of thousands of Southern men we of the North were cowardly, starving savages, afraid to fight, yet lusting for their substance ; monsters, with whose image mothers frightened their little children ; cheats, starveling ragamuffins, abandoned robbers ; but above all devoid of courage, wealth, and intellectual ability. Certainly the events of the war have produced a thorough enlightenment of Southern public opinion about us. The men who, after Bull Run, in their insane rage, made drinking-cups of the skulls of our dead, now fraternize with us. Their wounded have learned, in our hospitals, that our surgeons are skilful, our women kind-hearted, and our means so abun-

dant as to excite their amazement. Their armies have been taught in the shock of battle that Yankee soldiers are brave and skilful; and even their women have learned to admire the marvellous ingenuity of the poor Yankee prisoners of war.

The war, then, remains; but the old animosity which brought it on, and made it inevitable, is much of it gone. Four years ago there stood between us and the Southern people not merely a few wicked conspirators who had determined upon disunion, but a bitter, unreasoning popular hatred, which the planters had excited to fury. To-day only the rebel leaders prevent peace. While they are able to marshal armies and are thus masters of the Southern people, the war must continue, for they are implacable; but when they are deposed and expelled, the people of the South, taught by the last four years, will welcome peace, and will be ready to believe that we are not enemies, but friends, not conquerors, but allies."

MR. COAN'S LETTER.

HILLO, HAWAII, May 3, 1865.

G. C. BECKWITH, D. D., *Sec. A. P. S.*

MY EVER DEAR BROTHER,—I am happy to welcome your excellent letter of December 15, 1864. Your apology for a seeming neglect is duly appreciated. I have not written you since January 5, 1864. Surely, this long delay is not for want of interest in the great cause you advocate and represent. No day passes without a sigh going up to heaven over the horrors of war, and a prayer that peace may soon spread her wings of love over all the nations.

Yes, I sigh and long for peace, not in my dear, bleeding country alone, but over all the earth. In looking over the world, my eye affects my heart, and both melt together; but my tears are not generated in a copperhead, nor is my heart so soft as to wish to see peace without purity. There can be no reliable peace without truth, righteousness, and love. I want no peace that slumbers over infernal fires. I have just returned from a visit to a "lake of fire and brimstone." At first sight the lake seemed congealed on its surface, with a stratum so firm that horsemen and chariots might have rushed over it; but in thirty minutes all was changed. The slumbering lake below began to boil, and the fiery flood burst upward from its awful abyss, rending the

superincumbent crust into fragments, dashing its burning waves against its sides, and vomiting its jets of incandescent minerals far into the air. The whole surface of the lake, some five hundred feet in diameter, was now one raging sea of fire, and the heat, the glare, the tossings, the hissings, the mutterings, the belchings, the spoutings, and the lashings, filled the beholder with awe, and led him to desire a place of safety. What peace, what safety, to a house built on the banks of such a lake? And just so it is in the *moral world*. "Is it peace, Jehu? What peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel, and her witchcrafts, are so many? There is no peace, saith my God, to the wicked."

Perhaps you begin to think that my principles are changed, or that they are paradoxical. Not a whit. I have always advocated law and order, and preached submission to authority; and I have ever felt that righteous and wholesome laws *must* be maintained at all hazards. God has so ordained, as a universal *necessity*, in family and in state, on earth and in heaven. *He* has clothed men with authority, and holds them responsible for its use. The parent holds the rod. The ruler, too, holds the sword as well as the shield. So it is in heaven. God holds the golden crown for the loyal, and the thunderbolt for the rebel. Satan found law, wrath, and crushing thunders, even in paradise, all issuing from the throne of "the Prince of Peace."

Still I abhor war. Its *cause* is always wrong; its origin is in wickedness; and never, since Satan fell from heaven, was a war more wicked, more diabolical, than that which the South has waged against their country. No human language can express the intensity and malignity of its wickedness; and I see not how our paternal government could have avoided the awful conflict without a violation of its most sacred oaths, an abandonment of all our dearest interests, and the giving over of our peaceful citizens to be trodden down by proud and haughty rebels, without regard to justice or mercy.

We accept war in this case as a *fact*, and we must deal with it as best we can. "It is impossible but that offences come; but woe to him through whom they come." Our work, and the work of all good men, is to endeavor to remove the *causes* of war; and what these causes are we well know. "The fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace." Instead of being

disheartened, and giving up the holy cause, I feel more deeply in earnest than ever. I wish to see Christian zeal and love intensified, and Christian efforts multiplied in this work.

The present war illustrates the horrors of the code, and gives great force to the arguments for peace. We wish to make all men feel that, to prevent or extinguish war, the selfish and diabolical passions must be restrained, and man must understand and feel and practise the golden rule, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." By the unrighteousness and all the horrors of war, I would preach peace; but I would preach it to the transgressor, and not sadden the heart of the righteous by laying the sin at his door. I have great hope that the awful sorrows which have come upon the nation will prepare multitudes to listen with less prejudice and a deeper interest to the arguments in behalf of peace.

There are certain conditions of the atmosphere which cannot be corrected without thunder. Electricity must be discharged, and there must be burning and the smell of sulphur. Sometimes a tempest or a cyclone must sweep and howl, and carry terror and devastation in its track. These and other calamities come through the action of physical laws. We know not but that the time may come when, by the action of these same laws, such direful scourges may cease. Now, though freighted with terror, they act as purifiers, and on the whole as healthful and necessary preservers. So it is with volcanoes. They give vent to the subterranean steam, gases, and fires of the earth; and, though their local and immediate effects are often terrific, yet they are necessary, in the present state of our planet, to preserve it from universal explosion and wreck. So, then, there is mercy even in seeming wrath. When the Lord "makes all things new," "a new heaven and a new earth;" when the baleful fires shall have burned out, and all the disturbing elements of the atmosphere shall have been consumed, and the ocean shall no more be lashed to fury by the tempest, then some of the physical calamities of our race may cease. Whether such a speculation will or will not be realized in the future, one thing is true: that the *moral* atmosphere of our world will be renovated, the baleful fires of human passion will cease to burn, disturbing and explosive elements of depravity will have been extinguished, and Peace will spread her wings over all the earth; "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall

they learn war any more." Come, thou Prince of Peace, oh, come quickly! Erect thy throne of light and love on earth. Unfold thy banner, and wave it round the world.

"Come the blest day, the joyful hour,
When earth shall feel thy saving power."

Let all who love peace take courage. Let all who are children of "the God of love and peace," take down their harps and tune them for a song, such as waked the seraph and the church, and tuned the lyres of heaven, when our Emmanuel was born. We shall not always sigh and mourn. War has raged, and the earth has run red with human gore. Its crashing thunder and its flashing fires have formed an horizon of wrath; its groans and its wails have rolled over the land, and the whole earth has been darkened by its sable clouds, and swept by its fiery tempests. Under its furious wheels and its iron hoofs the world still shakes, and the mountains tremble at the blast of its trumpet.

But Peace, also, shall have her time. Her jubilee is sure. Her dove is now abroad on the dark surface of the deluge, but she will at length return with the "olive leaf." We shall yet sing, "The winter is past, the rain is over and gone, the flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come, the voice of the turtle is heard in the land." In a little we shall look down from "the eternal hills," and see our earth regenerated, "a new earth, wherein dwelleth righteousness." "Then shall the trees of the field sing out at the presence of the Lord," and the mountains shall shout, and "the little hills shall rejoice," and the ocean shall roll her deep, eternal bass, and all nature shall join in the grand anthem, "Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace, good-will to men."

I write this in great haste, and amidst numerous interruptions, as I have recently returned from a tour of sixteen days in the Southern part of my field, and I purpose, *Deo volente*, to set out to-morrow for a Northern tour of about the same duration; soon after this to sail for Honolulu, to attend our annual meetings. I intend to aid your cause more so soon as I can attend to getting a draft, etc., which I cannot do now. We rejoice to give, as the Lord prospers us, to every good cause. We have done something for the Sanitary and Christian Commissions, for the Freedmen, the A. B. C. F. M., and other objects which need help. Our church

is now being divided and reorganized into nine instead of one, and we are building meeting-houses, and trying to prepare and support native pastors to take part with me in this ministry. The Lord is gracious to us.

When news of the fall of Richmond, Petersburg, etc., reached us, a shout of joy rang along our shores. We are inspired with the hope that peace is near, that slavery is dead, and that our nation is saved.

Yours in the Lord.

T. COAN.

WAR SUICIDAL. — The late embroilment of Europe in the case of Denmark is a fair and very suggestive illustration of the way in which war policy recoils upon those who resort to it. We take from a foreign paper the following comments: —

“A fable relates that once a fox got into a farmer's garden, and dined heartily on the grapes found therein. A lean fox, he had found a hole just large enough to admit him by squeezing; but fattened by the grapes, he tried to return by the same hole, and could not. Afraid of the farmer's dogs, he had to starve himself, and got out at last as lean and hungry a fox as he went in. — The fable is evidently prophetic of the Germans and their invasion of Denmark. They got up a great Schleswig-Holstein cry; they gained great glory by famous victories of the combined armies of Prussia and Austria over little Denmark; but now that they have got Schleswig and Holstein, what is the result? There is Prussia anxious to annex those duchies, but prevented by the jealousies of the minor German States, all barking around her. She thought that, undertaking so popular a cause as the separation of the duchies from Denmark, she would be no longer thwarted in obtaining the military budget for which the king has dissolved parliament after parliament.

But she has as determined an opposition as ever, and is afraid to appeal to the people for another parliament, convinced that it will be more antagonistic than this. Austria is equally unhappy, finding that Prussia is disposed to prevent her sharing any of the spoils of the Danish war. The German Bund is as badly off; having got up the Schleswig-Holstein clamor in order to strengthen itself with a new member of the Bund, it sees Prussia carry off the victory, and the Duke of Augustenburg entirely set aside. The Germans in the duchies who cried out so lustily for rescue from Denmark, are also in sad confusion. The Schleswigers are petitioning Napoleon to restore them to connection with Denmark. Holstein, horrified at the prospect of being eaten and digested by Prussia, cries out madly for Augustenburg. There is a dead lock all around. And this is what the German fox has got by going into Denmark's graperies! What will be the end is beyond mortal ken at present. It is only the state of Austria's finances, and the

Venetian dangers, that prevent her giving up the sham of an alliance with Prussia. Count Bismark is at his wits' end. Napoleon is peering curiously over his walls. Denmark and England look on complacently."

A WIDOW'S EXPERIENCE OF WHAT WAR DOES.— "A Widow" published some time ago, in the "Richmond Sentinel," the following statement, showing how war diminishes incomes, and accumulates taxes: "I belong to the class of widows who had invested their little property in stocks before the war. *My income now is \$1,200 a year, and my tax \$1,364!* I am old. To dig, I cannot; to beg, I am ashamed. Yet I must be clothed, and have to board at an enormous price. But with what? Will our legislators, who make laws depriving us of every means of subsistence, enlighten us upon this vital point?"

Such is the suicidal recoil of this rebellion, as of most appeals to the sword, upon its originators and abettors. It demands for its support in this case about one tenth *more* than the whole income of its victims! Its leaders promised them a sudden and sure increase of wealth, and a great relief from the burdens of government; and here is a specimen of its effects all over the South,—incomes diminished, and expenses increased far beyond any former experience or conception. How true the Saviour's saying, "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword!"

WISDOM LEARNED TOO LATE.— In 1854-6, the London *Times* was a fierce, unscrupulous abettor of the Crimean War; but five years after its close, it said in 1861, "We must frankly own that we feel somewhat more free to act like men and Christians now than we could do five years ago. That ill-starred war, those half-million of British, French, and Russian men left in the Crimea, those two hundred millions of money wasted in the worst of all ways, have discharged to the last iota all the debt of Christian Europe to Turkey. Never was so great an effort made for so worthless an object. *It is with no small reluctance we admit a gigantic effort and an infinite sacrifice to have been made in vain.*" Such is the wisdom commonly learned from war; but it seldom lasts long enough to avert the next provocation to repeat the crime and folly.

HAVOC OF WAR:

ITS WASTE OF LIFE AND TREASURE.

It seems from the "*Economiste Belge*" that France alone, in her wars from 1791 to 1814, raised and consumed 4,556,000 men, the conscriptions of Napoleon amounting to 2,476,000. It is fair to presume that an equal number were destroyed on the other side, making in all no less than 9,112,000 lives sacrificed by nominally Christian Europe in twenty-three years. Nor is even this all; for the incidental destruction of life occasioned by war, outside of its armies and navies, is well known to be immense. The wars consequent on the first French Revolution have generally been estimated, in round numbers, as sacrificing only six million lives, never, we believe, so many as nine millions; but, if we may trust this authority, the sum-total of its victims, direct and incidental, must have been vast beyond all past belief or conception.

Mr. Germain Sarrab, in confirmation of his statements, gives the following list of troops raised:—

June, 1791.....	150,000	April, 1807.....	80,000
September, 1792.....	100,000	January, 1808.....	80,000
February, 1793.....	300,000	September, 1808.....	80,000
April, 1793.....	30,000	September, 1808.....	80,000
August, 1793.....	1,050,000	January, 1809.....	80,000
Vendemiaire, year VII..	190,000	April, 1809.....	40,000
Germinal, year VII.....	150,000	October, 1809.....	36,000
Mesidor, year VII.....	110,000	December, 1809.....	100,000
Floreal, year X.....	120,000	September, 1812....	120,000
Floreal, year XI.....	120,000	January, 1813.....	350,000
Floreal, year XII.....	60,000	April, 1813.....	180,000
Nivose, year XIII.....	60,000	August, 1813.....	30,000
Vendemiaire, year XIII...	60,000	October, 1813.....	280,000
December, 1806.....	80,000	November, 1813.....	300,000
Total.....		4,556,000	

"This does not include the 250,000 men who were in the army in 1791, unless it be intended to offset them against those who survived those twenty-five years of glorious massacres. But even then there should be joined to this bloody hecatomb the 300,000 of the royalist party who fell victims to the civil wars of the Vendee, of Languedoc, of Lozere, the army of the Ceredo, etc., etc. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to put down the number of Frenchmen destroyed by the war at 5,000,000, say 217,400 men per annum, or about 600 men per day. In this statement we take into account the losses of France alone; and it is a well-known fact that during the latter ten years, Napoleon was very sparing of the lives of the French soldiers, using the

Italians, the Belgians; the Dutch, and other contingents to oppose the Russians, the Prussians, the Austrians, and the English. It is, therefore, no exaggeration to place the loss of men in Europe during that bloody period of twenty-three years at 2,000 men per day," or the fearful aggregate of 16,790,000. What a holocaust for Christendom in twenty-three years to offer upon the altar of the war-god! If we add the incidental waste of life in other ways, the sum-total could hardly fall short of twenty millions; and if the twenty-five years from 1790 had been one of peace instead of war, the entire population of Europe would probably have been from thirty to forty millions larger than it actually was the day after the battle of Waterloo.

The waste of treason kept even pace with this havoc of life. Take either England or Austria as an example. "Besides all she could raise by extreme taxation, Great Britain made the following loans, negotiated at discounts varying from 23.55 to 52.75 per cent.:—

In 1793.....£ 4,500,000 at 72.45	In 1804..... 14,500,000 at 54.94
1794..... 10,000,000 at 66.09	1805..... 20,000,000 at 58.25
1795..... 22,600,000 at 62.50	1805..... 4,000,000 at 51.55
1796..... 18,000,000 at 63.46	1806..... 22,000,000 at 60.24
1796..... 7,380,000 at 64.93	1807..... 1,500,000 at 62.24
1797..... 18,000,000 at 53.28	1807..... 14,200,000 at 63.42
1797..... 20,000,000 at 47.25	1808..... 10,500,000 at 63.42
1798..... 17,000,000 at 48.68	1809..... 14,600,000 at 65.50
1798..... 3,300,000 at 53.58	1810..... 13,400,000 at 71.09
1799..... 15,500,000 at 57.14	1811..... 12,000,000 at 64.10
1800..... 20,500,000 at 64.93	1812..... 12,080,000 at 56.82
1801..... 30,376,000 at 56.98	1813..... 27,000,000 at 55.35
1802..... 25,080,000 at 75.63	1813..... 24,000,000 at 56.50
1803..... 12,000,000 at 58.32	1814..... 24,000,000 at 63.83
In 1815.....39,565,000 at 58.53	

The amount thus raised increased the National Debt of England to £804,612,000. The final result of this vast destruction of capital was the disorganization of the industry of England, by withdrawing from the mercantile marine, from her manufactories, and from her agriculture, the vigorous workmen who were converted into sailors and soldiers; the greater part of whom fell victims to disease during the course of the war. This immense amount of capital and labor was transferred from the useful occupations of peace to the construction of ships of war, the manufacture of arms and military equipments, munitions of war, and means of transportation, and to the destruction of the products of her shipyards and of her manufactures.

By taking Austria as an example, we may imagine what were the results of these loans on the public finances and on individual prosperity. During these wars, the Government of Vienna had caused the issues of irredeemable paper money to their utmost forcible extent. Consequently, a disastrous financial settlement

followed the peace of 1810. The circulation of paper money had reached at that period the sum of 1,060,798,753 florins. The imperial decree of February 20, 1811, ordered the withdrawal of this paper money in exchange for a new paper money at the rate of five for one, which new paper money was still of much less value than coin, although the government made solemn promise to emit no more than was absolutely necessary to redeem the old issues at 20 per cent. of their par value, say 295,600,000 florins. The war of 1813-1815 abrogated this promise. December, 1815, the circulation of this new paper money amounted to 610,000,000, and it took 351 florins of paper money to obtain 100 florins in silver. Thus the unfortunate holder in 1811 of 1,000 florins, who was forced to exchange them for 200 florins of the new issue, saw these now reduced to about 57 florins in coin, thus realizing not quite 6 per cent. on his original claim against the State."

It will probably take a long time, if it should ever be possible, to ascertain how much our rebellion has sunk beyond redemption. On the part of the rebels its cost and its waste will both prove a total loss; and these together are supposed to be much the largest part of all the South was worth when she began her suicidal rebellion. How truly are they who take the sword wont to perish by the sword!

OBJECTION TO A CONGRESS OF NATIONS. — What would hinder such a congress from settling international disputes, and thus removing the necessity of war? The popular cry amounts to this: other advice is valueless unless backed by power; that warlike states, all conscious of their strength, will not abstain from preying on the weak by remonstrances of neutral powers acting on the principle of non-intervention; but that if the congress convened to put an end to war, be armed with military powers to enforce international justice, it will become belligerent itself, and extend the evil it was intended to avert. That the friends of peace can hope for nothing from a congress armed with military powers, is now fully proved by the distressing example of the United States of America; and it would be better to remain as we are, faithful to the principle of non-intervention, than to join in any congress which would require us to draw the sword for the enforcement of its decisions.

But it is not so evident that a congress without arms would necessarily fail. The London Conference of 1864 about the Dano-German quarrel may be quoted as an instance; but it must be admitted that it assembled under many disadvantages, which ought to prevent its failure, if it failed, from being taken as conclusive against the utility of such meetings. It at least procured a suspension of hostilities for six or seven weeks, after which time the weaker State felt its inability to contend with greater powers, and yielding perhaps as much as might

have been taken from it in any case, escaped, at least, the additional waste of blood which would have taken place if the war had not been interrupted. — *Bond of Brotherhood.*

This reference to our rebellion betrays what we deem a false logic. Our domestic difficulties have arisen from no defect in our government, but solely from the unwillingness of our slaveholders to abide by its provisions, and the legitimate application of its principles. Now, if individuals and communities cannot be trained to fulfil their obligations as good citizens, no promises or stipulations can restrain them from any outrages which passion, prejudice, or self-interest may instigate. If our Southern slaveholders, like the freemen of the North, had been educated in habits of loyalty to our national government, and peaceful submission to its authority, they would never have drawn the sword in rebellion; and with the same or like habits of disregard of the most solemn obligations ever assumed, no congress of nations, or any other provisions whatever, can hold nations back from a resort to arms as the final arbiter of their disputes. *The world must be educated to this new Christian order of things.* Such an education will be found indispensable to permanent peace. Here is the great work of peace-reformers, a vast and very difficult, but by no means hopeless task.

ARGUMENT FOR WAR FROM THE OLD TESTAMENT. — We wonder that teachers of religion cannot see that this deification of brute force as of greater efficacy than moral influence, gives the lie direct to the whole teaching of Christianity. Their appeal to the Old Testament is wholly beside the mark, unless they are prepared to abide the issue of such an appeal in other directions as well as that of war. Will they allow us to cite Old Testament examples in justification of polygamy and concubinage, and persecution, and slavery, and the extermination of enemies, and the infliction of capital punishment for Sabbath-breaking, and filial impiety, and a dozen other practices? Surely, it betrays a singular confusion of thought to say, after citing the example of Sampson, David, and Joshua, these cases show that the duties of a soldier are not inconsistent *with the calling of a Christian!* Were Sampson, David, and Joshua, Christians? Is there no distinction between Christianity and Judaism?

GLIMPSE OF LONDON. — It spreads over more than 120 square miles, contains 2,600 miles of streets, has 360,000 houses, a population of 3,000,000, and an assessed annual rental of over \$60,000,000.

CERTAINTY THAT WAR MUST END.

"SHALL the sword devour forever?" is a question equally interesting to the moralist and the politician. Is war always to disturb, to desolate, and to degrade the human family? The question must often have forced itself upon the attention of those who watch the cause of Progress, and take part in the efforts made to alleviate the miseries of mankind. That war shall sooner or later cease to defile the earth, is probably the creed of most men, and must be the conviction of every true Christian. Opinions differ widely, no doubt, as to the time and means of the great and happy deliverance; but it is a glad thought to millions of human hearts, whenever faith is permitted to grapple with the subject, that *there will be a day of deliverance from the dread scourge of war*, a day when "nation shall no longer lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

It is to be regretted that this thought is not more encouraged and dwelt upon by Christian philosophers,—*the absolute certainty that war must and will come to an end*. Popular notions on this subject are altogether too vague and visionary to be of much practical good. Men, after all, rather hope than believe that war will fade out and die. They lack the motive to action which definiteness of conviction can alone give. Real earnest belief that war is coming to an end will prompt, more than anything else, to earnest effort to bring the end about. That it will not come without *effort*, is quite certain. We shall not drift into a condition of permanent and universal peace. That will come as the reward of wise, united, and determined action. It must be made a part of the great business of nations—something *to be done*, not simply something to be hoped for. It will greatly help men to prepare themselves for taking part in this grand reform when they become fully convinced that things as they are cannot go on. If men knew that the war system must inevitably crumble and decay, who would feel the least interest or enthusiasm in carrying on the system, or contributing to its support?

Incidentally and unconsciously men are doing much every day to undermine the present war system, and to establish on a sounder and safer basis the relation of States; but how much more nobly, worthily and honorably would the work go on if moral principle were allowed to guide rather than to follow the dictates of economical expediency! It is a pleasant and cheering sight to see the men of business, all over Europe, so busily engaged day by day in fabricating new ties which bind the nations in irreversible bonds to keep the peace. It is something to catch even a faint whisper of the cry from the ranks of commerce, which will one day swell into diapason tones of thunder: 'We are partners, and cannot afford to fight.' How much more cheering and glorious will it be to catch the first utterances of those clear silver notes with which the believers of Christendom will cry, 'WE ARE CHRISTIANS, *therefore* we will not fight!'

By whatever agency accomplished, let us be thankful that the end is drawing on. There is hope for humanity in the fact that war is as distinctively opposed to the interests of Mammon as it is to the spirit of

Christianity. It is as fatal to the interests of the life that now is, as of that which is to come. It is quite true that God can make the selfishness of men to praise him, just as he can make the wrath of man to praise him; and it may be that, though professedly Christian nations may, through their pride and obstinacy, reject the blessing of Peace as inculcated by the authority of Gospel Law, they may be compelled to accept and maintain it as a condition of their commercial relations, and the dependencies which arise therefrom.

If war were declared between England or France and any other of the Great Powers, involving a general European convulsion, it would become a question not simply of the increase of a few millions upon the Military and Naval Estimates, but a convulsion threatening to shake to pieces, and involve in utter ruin, that vast and complicated system of modern international credit, which has assumed such colossal proportions, and is fast binding into one great commercial and monetary partnership the enterprising populations of the civilized world. It is not simply the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Messrs. Rothschild, who will have to be consulted before another great European war breaks out. There are interests quite as potential as these to be considered; — a power, dormant yet sensitive, lying *perdu* in the patent safe and strong boxes of the Credit Mobilier at Paris, International Financial and Credit Foncier and Mobilier, the General Credit, the London Financial in London, the Vindebona Bank in Vienna, and many similar corporations, under whose guidance that wondrous web of financial co-partnership has been so marvellously spun within the last few years. Railways are great Peacemakers, not only because they facilitate travel, and bring the peoples, hitherto divided, into frequent intercourse with each other, but because these railways are common property, owned by the capitalists, not of one, but of all countries.

If, then, there are in modern times interests and necessities greater than those which have hitherto been supposed to necessitate war; if a substitute for war is required, alike by the interests of peoples, and by the advancing civilization of the age, should not distinct and vigorous efforts be made to discover that substitute, and to secure its adoption? If stipulated arbitration is the simplest and safest substitute which at present presents itself, let that be urged upon the governments of Europe with a frequency and pertinacity which will secure for it attention, and bring it to the test of experience. It may not be infallible; but neither is war infallible. It is surely better to incur the risk of mistakes through FRIENDLY ARBITRATION, which may afterwards be corrected, than through war, whose processes are those of irremediable death and desolation. Nothing will assist so materially in securing for the award of International Arbitration both obedience and respect as the fervency with which they are demanded by the popular voice. If a better plan can be devised, the intelligence of European statesmen will not fail to discover it. When they see that the tide of popular sympathy is fairly turned, and feel that war, with all its anomalies and enormities, can no longer be relied upon as the last resource of diplomacy, then they will turn to those

peaceful agencies and Christian appliances which will settle disputes and maintain rights far more satisfactorily and surely than the treacherous and costly SWORD. — *E. F. in Bond of Brotherhood.*

WEALTH OF BUSINESS MEN.—The following table, supposed to be quite reliable, shows the estimated wealth of merchants and manufacturers chiefly in the North:—

<i>States.</i>	<i>Business Houses.</i>	<i>Wealth.</i>
Connecticut.....	5,832	\$145,588,000
Delaware.....	1,150	24,701,000
District of Columbia.....	1,282	17,448,000
Illinois.....	12,215	207,568,000
Indiana.....	8,512	134,240,000
Iowa.....	5,052	88,532,000
Kansas.....	438	3,557,000
Kentucky.....	1,528	39,559,000
Louisiana (N. O. only).....	802	50,790,000
Maine.....	4,982	99,298,000
Maryland.....	3,665	102,359,000
Massachusetts....	17,302	868,815,000
Michigan.....	5,934	83,943,000
Missouri.....	3,263	81,334,000
Minnesota.....	979	7,602,000
New Hampshire.....	2,851	38,685,000
New Jersey.....	5,910	90,250,000
New York.....	36,932	1,677,204,000
Ohio.....	17,005	310,725,000
Pennsylvania.....	22,941	733,296,000
Rhode Island.....	2,487	115,714,000
Vermont.....	2,494	19,989,000
Wisconsin.....	5,369	53,775,000
Total.....	168,925	\$4,944,766,000

This makes Massachusetts the second State in wealth. The six New England States have 35,948 large business houses, with a capital employed amounting to \$1,288,079,000. Omit New York and Pennsylvania, and it will be seen that Massachusetts has an excess of \$41,899,000 over all the remaining States.

COMMERCE A BOND OF PEACE.—One fruit of the late Richard Cobden's usefulness was the commercial treaty which he negotiated with the French Emperor, the effect of which was, that while the total amount of England's trade with France was in 1859 only £26,431,000, it reached in 1864 £49,797,000; an increase, in five years, of £23,366,000, or nearly 90 per cent. This bond of mutual interest is continually operating upon a broader scale, and with increased efficacy as a guarantee of peace between nations.

EDWARD EVERETT ON THE REBELLION:

THIS REBELLION NOT JUSTIFIED BY THE REVOLUTION IN 1776.

AN attempt is made, especially by foreign writers, to assimilate the existing rebellion at the South with the American Revolution. We might, as against England, accept this view of the subject, for she not only denied the right of the Colonies to assert their independence, but treated the attempt to do so as a rebellion. Although she denies *our* right by a legislative act to close the ports of the rebellious States, she did it herself in the Revolutionary War by 16 George III., c. 5, and two years after the capitulation of Burgoyne, and after the independence of the States had been acknowledged by France, she sent Mr. Laurens to the Tower as a traitor. She therefore is, to say the least, as much estopped from recognizing the right of secession as we from denying it.

But the truth is, there is not the slightest similarity between the secession of the rebel States and the American revolution, unless upon the principle that all rebellions are just. Our fathers in 1776 set up no unqualified right of revolution, and it would have come to nothing practically, if they had; for, in any sense in which there is an abstract right, on the part of the people, to revolt, there is a co-extensive right, on the part of the government, to suppress the revolution. They claimed no right for a part of a people to throw off at pleasure the authority of a legitimate or constitutional government; for this would be to strike at the root of all government. What they taught was, that governments were instituted to secure the inalienable rights of men, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; and, inasmuch as governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed, *whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and institute another.* This is the whole of their doctrine on that subject; and it is of course equally true in monarchies and republics, in centralized and confederate governments. Not being represented in the British Parliament, they denied its right to bind them in all cases; and, inasmuch as the king, combining with the Parliament, had by a long course of abuses and usurpations, evinced a desire to reduce them to absolute despotism, it was their right and duty to throw off their allegiance, and establish their independence.

In all this, I need not say, there is not the slightest similarity, in principle or fact, with the case of the seceding States. Their inhabitants are not a separate colonial people, but they are an integral portion of that "one people" which declared their independence, and which, being loosely associated under the old confederation of States, ordained and established the present Constitution, "in order to form a more perfect Union." In the

government which they thus took a part in forming, they are represented beyond the numerical proportion of their population, and for the greater part of the time its administration has been controlled by themselves. This organic law thus formed has been adopted by the people of each of the States, as much as their own State constitutions, and there is a provision in the text of the instrument that "this Constitution and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, shall be the supreme law of the land, and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding." All the powers of the government having for the greater part of the time since its formation been controlled by the people of the seceding States, and by those in the other States in political alliance with them, it is impossible, notwithstanding loose assertions and clamors to the contrary, that the seceding States can have found it an oppressive or tyrannical government, which, by the principles of the Declaration and by the law of Nature, they had a right to throw off, or even of which they had any just right to complain. They have accordingly re-adopted this form of government with no essential alterations, and it was admitted by Mr. Vice-President Stephens to be the mildest and most beneficent government known in the history of the world. This confession was made, after the election of Mr. Lincoln, the immediate pretended justification of the rebellion. A still more important admission was made by Mr. Davis himself in one of his last speeches in the Senate of the United States, December 10, 1860. "Our fathers," said Mr. Davis, "learning wisdom from the experiments of Rome and Greece, — the one a consolidated Republic, and the other strictly a Confederacy, — and taught by the lessons of our own experiment under the Confederation, came together to form 'a more perfect union,' and in my judgment made the best government that has ever been instituted by man."—*Edward Everett.*

All this may be true without proving the right of a people by violence to throw off at discretion the government over them. Such a claim strikes at the root of every government; and never did or can any one concede this right without committing a species of suicide. If a government has a right to enforce its laws, none of its subjects can have any right to resist them. The rights and obligations of a government and of its citizens are correlative; if the former is authorized to command, the latter are bound to obey; nor can it be optional with them whether to submit or resist. The logic that makes it right for a government to execute the very laws which subjects are at liberty to resist at pleasure, seems to us a strange and suicidal absurdity.

NATIONS AS A PARTNERSHIP.—We find in a late number of the “Bond of Brotherhood,” edited by our friend, Elihu Burritt, published in London, and now just starting upon its seventeenth year, a pleasant article representing the nations of Christendom, more especially those of Europe, as a vast commercial copartnership, whose common interests, belting the globe, interlinked at every point, and including telegraphs, railways, and other means of intercourse by correspondence, travel, and exchange of their respective products, imperatively require for their prosperity some reliable system of permanent peace that shall settle their disputes, and regulate all their dealings without a resort to the sword.

“Differences and difficulties are liable to arise even in the most amicable counting-houses; and though the partners are too wise to draw revolvers on each other, they are occasionally glad to avail themselves of the good offices of a properly authorized Court of Equity to adjust the matter in dispute. Such a court is as needful among nations as it is among citizens; and when a CONGRESS OF NATIONS has been established, the first step will have been taken toward the disarmament of nations. The counting-house relations of European States will help greatly the realization of such a CONGRESS, as the most important permanent institution in the world.

What a blessing would it have been to America, had such a Congress been in existence four years ago,—a Court of Appeal to which she might honorably have referred her great difficulty for friendly and peaceful adjudication. But for war she might have been now one of the head partners of the great international, commercial firm. As it is, she stands almost excluded from the concern, her influence paralyzed, her resources swallowed up in profitless strife, and the yawning abyss of ruin threatening to engulf a nation so lately the admiration and envy of the commercial world.

Let us hope that the lesson will not be lost upon the populations of all countries! War is out of harmony with all the highest interests of mankind, and the best tendencies of the age. To prepare for war is to foster the elements of ruin and wretchedness; to raise and maintain great armaments is to undermine the solid foundations of a country's greatness; to train men to fight is treason to the interests of industry. It is for the good of all that there be no more war. In order to this there must be ORGANIZED PEACE. To provide a substitute for war is surely as much the interest as it is the duty of the great commercial fraternity of modern times; and no substitute is so simple, so practicable and so economical as a permanent CONGRESS OF NATIONS, to which all disputes may be referred for settlement by FRIENDLY ARBITRATION!”

MATERIAL BONDS OF PEACE.

THE silent, invisible upbuilding of coral islands is the submarine work of ages that man cannot number. The littles and the littles by which the knotted structure is woven are exceedingly minute. The inch by inch by which the white antlers grow is a process of expansion too slow to be detected by human eyes, even if they could see it under the blue surface of the sea. Thus silent and imperceptible is the webwork of material interests which are internetting the great family of nations with the bonds of peace. How quietly they permeate, with their strong, self-multiplying threads, all the countries within that family circle! How gently they stretch out their invisible web, first the warp-cords, then the woof-twine! The spaces between for a long time are wide and incoherent. No one sees any connection between them, any more than between parallel rivers running at wide, uneven intervals to the sea. Few note when the spaces begin to narrow. Each of the thousand weavers keeps his eye and heart upon his own thread, nor heeds his neighbor's line, whether it parallels or crosses his own. But the great shuttle plays back and forth by night and day. The warp and the woof approach each other slowly at every throw. Gradually, and noticed only by few enlightened eyes, the web takes consistency, and grows into a texture that holds the nations inwoven in meshes they cannot sever. Still they are sharpening their swords to cut these netted cords, and cast them off, as if they were merely a spider's webbing.

How few statesmen even of the present day realize the texture and strength of that webwork of material interests in which the countries of Christendom are at this moment inwoven! How incongruous is all this armed-peace policy with the present relationships and dispositions of nations! How diametrically, blindly, and suicidally opposed to the spirit and letter and life of these interests and tendencies are all these new and prodigious preparations for war, exhausting the revenues of great nations, and constantly increasing under the stimulus of popular favor!

The mutual or reciprocal attitude of the foremost nations of Europe is a stupendous anomaly. Nor is it so from the stand-point alone of those visionary men called, half-derisively, the "friends of Peace," but from the point of observation from which the most profound and experienced statesmen have looked forward to an auspicious change in the relationships of governments and peoples. It was not an Exeter Hall enthusiast, but Sir Robert Peel, who stated, in his great argument for Free Trade, that just in proportion as the commercial intercourse between nations was increased would the danger of war between them be diminished. How few members of the British Parliament, how few public men and public journals, ventured or wished to impugn or even disbelieve the truth and justice of that proposition! And yet, although governments and peoples have accepted the premise, they have rejected or seemingly reversed the conclusion. Take, for instance, the mutual attitude of England and France, the two nations on whom the peace of Europe mostly depends. Apply to that attitude the axiom of Sir Robert Peel, and see its amazing incongruity. Apparently, if he had said, just in proportion as the com-

mercial intercourse of the two nations should be increased would the danger of war between them be *augmented*, they could not have stood in more seemingly belligerent attitude toward each other than they do at this moment.

To our mind this is the strangest anomaly in Christendom. It is an incongruity which every other tendency of the times makes more and more distorted. The freest trade between England and France that Sir Robert Peel could have anticipated in his best moments of expectation has been realized. The consummation is recognized as one of the most important events in the commercial history of Great Britain. It has already begun to tell upon the material prosperity of the nation. Its promise of increasing good is a matter of public gratulation.

This treaty is only an additional bond of peace between the two countries. Since Sir Robert Peel died, they have been brought into relationships and copartnerships which he probably never dreamed of. In the first place, English capitalists, merchants, and manufacturers have taken stock in the material interests of France to an amount of moneyed investment which would astonish the nation, if it could be all tabulated and footed up in one round total. There is probably not a railway from Nice to Nantes, or from the Pyrenees to the Belgian frontier, in which English capital has not a vested interest. From railways these international joint-stock companies have gone to telegraph lines, steamboats, hotels, mines, forests, and to almost every kind of business speculation and enterprise. Thus, doubtless, there is ten times more of English money invested in what may be called the raw materials of French wealth and well-being than has ever lain in gold at one time in the Bank of England. All this vast moneyed interest is invested by English capitalists virtually in the peace and prosperity of France. Every farthing of it feels the thrill of her weal or the chill of her woe. Like a sensitive plant, it trembles and recoils at every serious disturbance within her borders. If the simile be as reverent as true, it rejoices at her joy, and saddens at her sorrow. It looks up at the overhanging sky with wistful and inquiring eye, and studies its promise of favoring rains, dews, light, and heat. Its pulse is quickened at the golden augury of a good harvest, and droops to heaviness at any destroying fire, or flood, or drought. It peers with pecuniary speculation into the wheatfields, vineyards, oliveyards, mulberry orchards, and gauges their prospective yields. It counts the loaded village carts headed for the railway, and estimates the weekly amount of freight which it will convey to Paris or Lyons, and the return bulk and worth of goods. It looks into the workshops and cramped dwellings of the artisans of St. Antoine, to see if they are going to winter well and keep the peace. It hangs on the lips of the emperor, to decipher his domestic and foreign policy. Such is the interwebbing of England and France by the texture of these material bonds of peace. In their strength and multiplicity they doubtless exceed anything that Sir Robert Peel anticipated in the first score of years after the inauguration of Free Trade.

Let us now turn to what may be called the political or governmental

relations between the two countries within the last decade. Never, in the history of Christendom, have two great nations been brought into such intimate copartnership, and such close companionship, as England and France since 1853. They have walked hand in hand, and fought side by side in the Crimea and in China. They have gone in partnership into enterprises most calculated in their prosecution and issue to excite sensitive jealousy and open antagonism of aim and *animus* between them, — enterprises which required the utmost confidence in each other's good faith and honor. They came out of them with that mutual confidence in each other's good faith strengthened instead of weakened. The habit of acting in copartnership, in peace or war, is growing upon them. They hardly think of moving asunder in any matter affecting the great and serious questions that trouble Europe. As peacemakers they walk arm in arm. As war-makers they fight side by side. Their diplomacy is coupled or issued in joint-notes. Their letters of warning to Prussia, Austria, and other great powers virtually go in one envelope, and one is generally as close a copy of the other as the two languages admit. Here is just a cursory glance at the material and political bonds of peace which connect England and France at the present moment. Now, is that armed-peace attitude in which they stand to each other anything short of a most strange incongruity with these new and remarkably intimate relations existing between them?

No two nations have ever walked hand in hand in so many and so intimate partnerships, or ever reposed such complete mutual confidence in transactions most calculated to stir up in each other unpleasant jealousies. We have seen them act together in peace or war, all the barriers to trade and friendly intercourse between them swept away. We have seen British capital invested to such enormous extent in French railways and public works, that the material well-being of the two nations seems to have been aggregated already into one common stock. Every week is marked by some new phase and fact of this companionship. Did anything in the intercourse of two great neighbor nations ever equal the ovation lately given by the English Bench and Bar and Government to the illustrious Berryer in London? All this is seen and felt by the two nations. It is made by both the subject of public gratulation, not only as the basis of a present well-being to both, but as the brightest pledge and promise of a still happier future.

Now, could anything be a more stupendous incongruity between the two nations than their present armed-peace attitude toward each other? If they had lost every sentiment of confidence in each other's honor and morality; if they were twitting and taunting each other, and bandying the fiercest epithets of scorn and defiance; if their ignited animosities had seized and singed asunder all the commercial bonds between them, and if each were mad and had enough to make war upon the other with no warning or provocation, could their attitude toward each other be more warlike than at the present moment? Take for example their eager competition in running neck and neck with each other in the construction of iron-clad navies and ponderous engines of destruction, the

very thought of which should startle a humane mind with horror. These navies are created and held in readiness to grapple with each other in death-struggles. Neither is designed to be arrayed against any other continental power. It is England against France, and France against England. It is on the race between Portsmouth and Cherbourg that both nations are staking their industrial earnings and public revenues with such reckless and continually increasing prodigality. — *E. B. in Bond of Brotherhood.*

SOME GOOD OUT OF WAR. — *A Ministering Angel.* — Every great calamity, however culpable its cause, gives occasion and scope for many beautiful developments of character. In the North we have seen such a multitude of these that the following may be regarded as little more than a fair specimen : —

“ Being in Boston the other day, I was passing along a rather poor street, when I was accosted by a young lady with whom I formerly had some acquaintance. I did not recognize her at first ; but the tones of her voice soon recalled her to my recollection. She was the only child of one of the richest merchants in Boston, and the brightest, gayest creature that can be imagined, — the spoiled darling of admiring friends, the very ‘topmost sparkle’ on the glittering wave of fashionable life. Now her appearance, though not shabby, was greatly changed. A plain, dark dress, a cloak of last year’s pattern, a cheap though tasteful bonnet, and well-worn furs made up a costume which she would not have thought it possible to appear in once. Her manner, too, seemed a little subdued from its old buoyancy, and her cheerful, smiling face had a shade of thoughtfulness which I did not remember then. I had never heard of any reverses in her family ; still I supposed something of the kind must have happened, and felt much sympathy for her changed fortunes.

Meeting a friend soon after, I inquired of him what it meant. ‘ Oh ! ’ said he, ‘ it’s only the war. The pressure of the public calamity has sobered her, and transformed the gay girl we once knew into something only a little lower than the angels. She has not lost her property, and Heaven forbid she should ; for money in such hands is doubly blessed. She has no near friends of her own to give up ; but she has devoted herself to other people’s friends. Sick and wounded soldiers, widows and orphans, every form of suffering which the war has produced, finds a consoler in her. She wears her old hats, and turns her old dresses wrong side up and inside out, that she may give all her allowance to the destitute. And not only her allowance but her time is all given. There is not a seamstress in Boston works harder, or more hours than she, making clothing, distributing necessities, and hunting up cases of relief. War is the Devil’s work, I know ; but it calls angels into the field sometimes.’ ”

How strange that any one should ever give to war the credit of the

beautiful traits thus called forth to mitigate its wide and terrible sufferings! By such logic we might justify and applaud every species of wickedness the world ever witnessed, and even exalt Satan himself into a saint and a wholesale benefactor of our race! Yet such is the drift of half the arguments used in palliation of war. What else are Dr. Bushnell's elaborate excuses, if indeed they be not outright eulogies of the sword? Just think, and you will see for yourselves the truth of what we here assert.

MILITARY LEGISLATORS. — Few are aware how disproportionate a share of influence is exerted by warriors and their partisans in all governments. Take that of England as a specimen. "Of the 656 members composing the House of Commons," says one perfectly familiar with the subject, "217 are officers in the army or navy; some few of them on the 'retired' list, and 175 other members are more or less interested, through family connections chiefly, in the support of our present large warlike expenditure. Here we have a war-voting power of above half the representation of the country. In a recent parliament, there were 3 admirals, three lieutenant-generals, 3 major-generals 22 colonels, 28 lieutenant-colonels, 16 majors, 43 captains, 21 lieutenants, and 4 cornets. Now, while the mercantile, the manufacturing, and the ship-owning interests have in the House of Commons but 84 representatives, the war interests have in that same House not fewer than 200 members *directly* interested in maintaining war establishments, and over 100 besides who from their associations are also indirectly interested in their support. What can be expected from such a state of things but that war interests will have the first attention, and that whatever other votes may be omitted, at least some three hundred members are prepared to vote 'the estimates,' be they what they may? Is it not, therefore, the bounden duty of the true friends of the country to remedy this evil by reducing the number of war members of the House of Commons to the lowest possible point?"

Such facts explain very much the blind obstinacy with which nearly all governments persist in their enormous war expenses, and their readiness to run the risk of war. Warriors, indeed, have been allowed, from time immemorial, to rule the world for the most part; and hence the vastly disproportionate favor shown to the war system. There can be little hope of much improvement in this respect until warriors shall cease to be rulers, and civil governments shall be put and kept in the hands of civilians.

TRIBUTE TO RICHARD COBDEN.

We cannot close our report without referring to the inestimable loss which the cause of peace has sustained by the death of Mr. Cobden. We need not dwell upon the general virtues and merits of the deceased statesman. That is rendered unnecessary by the homage which, with an unanimity wholly unparalleled in our political history, has been paid by all classes and by all parties in the country to his eminent public services, the stainless integrity of his life, the transparent honesty of his character, the unselfish purity of his patriotism. But surely if there is any class of the community that owe him a special tribute of honor, it is the friends of peace. The service he rendered to our cause is beyond computation; while the fidelity with which he clung to it, through all vicissitudes of circumstance and opinion, cannot but embalm his memory forever in our grateful and affectionate veneration. The promotion of peace was not merely one of the incidental consequences following from the policy that he advocated and achieved; it was the moving principle, the underlying purpose of his whole life. It might have been thought glory enough for one man to have struck the fetters from the limbs of trade, to have brought abundance of cheap bread to the poor man's table, to have given unbounded commercial prosperity to his country, and to have linked alien nations in the bonds of mutual interest and dependence. But these objects, high as they were, were ever in his mind subordinated to the still nobler moral aim of promoting peace on earth and good-will among men. With what disinterested zeal, with what indefatigable labor, with what lofty courage, with what undaunted persistency, he worked for this end in the senate, on the platform, through the press, at home and abroad, to the last day of his life, can we ever forget? Nor is there any danger that the world shall be able to forget. The result of his labors will broaden with the advance of civilization. The glory of his fame will culminate with the progress of humanity. Whatever other reputations may fade, there is no fear but that his name will be had in honorable and everlasting remembrance. Such men do not die even upon earth: —

"For their best part of life on earth is when
 Long after death, prisoned and pent no more,
 Their thoughts, their wild dreams even, have become
 Part of the necessary air men breathe."

To enumerate all the services which Mr. Cobden rendered to the cause of peace would far exceed the limits of this report. But we cannot omit one reference to the unswerving constancy with which he kept true to them through evil report and good report. Many tried, some by flattery, and some by ridicule, to detach him from our ranks. But that true heart never faltered for an instant in its loyalty to the cause and its friends. While smaller men, once following with us, shrunk from our side, unable to bear the reproach, he who, from his eminence, was the most conspicuous mark for the shafts of scorn, never veiled his principles, was never ashamed of his associates. When the epithet of peace-monger was flung at him as an opprobrium, he picked it up, and twined it as a coronal of glory around his brow.

It will be readily understood that the death of such a man is an immense, an all but irreparable loss to the cause. And yet there is no room for despondency. Indeed, the circumstances of his death are full of encouragement to those who remain. During life, while his advocacy of free trade was applauded, his advocacy of peace was too often derided and decried; but when the nation was bending over his bier, and all party passions were for a moment hushed by the presence of a great and generous grief, there gleamed upon many minds some perception of the true grandeur that was thrown around his life and character by the fact that, though loving his country well, and rendering to it services such as it has fallen to the lot of few to render, he had risen above all narrow and selfish notions of patriotism, and had dared to recognize, as the basis of his political faith, the doctrine of the common fatherhood of God and the common brotherhood of man.

And rich was his reward. Probably no man ever descended to the grave amid sorrow so genuine and universal, and, at the same time, so little qualified by any other sentiment. For it was not England only that mourned him; but when her voice of reverential regret arose over his grave, it was echoed with no less sincerity from France, from Germany, from Italy, from America, from the whole civilized world. This, we venture to say, was owing largely to his having been a man of peace. For when he fell, there was no stain of blood found on his garments; there were no scenes of suffering associated with the beneficent victories he had won. As the tidings of his death passed from land to land, the name of Richard Cobden stirred up no memories of terror or anguish in any widow's or orphan's heart. But that name, wherever it was known, was known as a sound of peace, as a symbol of blessing through all the habitations of humanity.

Still, though his death, like his life, is full of a noble inspiration, those who are left behind to try to carry on the work in which he bore so great a part, may be pardoned if they sometimes feel lonely and weak under the consciousness that such men are withdrawn forever from their side. Seldom has so severe a loss befallen any cause in so short a time as that which has befallen the peace cause by the death of two such men as Joseph Sturge and Richard Cobden. Each in his own line was incomparable, and each has left a vacancy which it is not easy to fill up. But our faith and hope are in that God who raised and qualified them for their great service, and with whom is still the residue of the spirit. — *Report of London Peace Society.*

THRIFT OF NEGROES IN NEW ORLEANS.— The colored citizens of New Orleans own real estate to the value of \$15,000,000, and they now have a daily newspaper — *The Tribune* — printed and edited by colored men.

ECCLESIASTICAL BONDS OF PEACE.

CHRISTIANITY ought to be, and in time must and will be, a sure guarantee for the preservation of peace among the nations of Christendom. A right application of its principles to their intercourse could not fail to secure such a result. A very small share of that spirit which brought our Saviour from heaven to the cross, which inspired the song of the heavenly hosts over his manger-cradle, and actuated his followers during the martyr-age of his church, would now suffice to avert all war and all fear of war between nations reputedly Christian. Alas that the world has never yet seen in eighteen hundred years a single nation strictly Christian, a government acting habitually on the real principles of the gospel in dealing with other nations; but over every country nominally Christian are scattered some true disciples of the Prince of peace, imbued with a portion of his spirit, and acting on the principles he taught. Their number may be comparatively very small; but, however few, they are sufficient, if faithful to their obligations, to leaven in time every community in Christendom, and bring its government so far into accordance with the gospel on the subject of peace as now to prevent actual war in nearly all cases, and ere long to supersede the whole war-system by the adoption of far better expedients by nominally Christian nations for the settlement of their disputes, the protection of their respective rights, and the regulation of their entire intercourse.

Such a consummation we cannot soon expect for all Christendom; but between ourselves and our fatherland it ought to have come long ago, and would, if the followers of Christ in the two countries had done their duty on the question of international peace. Their common religion might be a sure guarantee of perpetual peace between these countries. It is in their power, if they will, to render it morally certain that henceforth no war, or serious fear of war, shall ever again disturb or imperil two nations so closely bound together by so many ties of common principles, common duties, and common interests. How easy for them, if they would, to insure a result so blessed and glorious, and how benign and far-reaching would be its influence, not only upon themselves, but upon the whole world!

These and many kindred thoughts have been forced upon us by a General Council lately held in Boston, representing some three thousand Congregational churches in this country, and welcoming

delegates from nearly an equal number of similar churches in Great Britain and her provinces. The welcome was very cordial; but the attitude of English Congregationalists toward our country during our slaveholders' rebellion had been so unsatisfactory that an able committee was appointed to draft a special response. On the report of this committee occurred a remarkable demonstration, the substance of which we copy:—

"In referring to the deputation from the English churches, as distinct from those of Wales, the committee alluded to the fact that the sentiment of England and Scotland had been notoriously adverse to our cause. The most powerful official organs, the most ponderous reviews, the most popular magazines, the newspapers of widest circulation, if they had agreed in nothing else, were well agreed in hostility to us, and sympathy with the rebellion. This we had not expected. One class alone had stood firm in opposition to the prevalent feeling, — the operatives of the manufactories and workshops of England, — who had felt from the first that the conflict was one involving the rights of labor, and had stood up unmoved by any influences in the day of their calamity and ours.

From the Congregational churches of England they had expected an unequivocal and constant declaration. Was not ours the same old cause of the Puritan against the Cavalier? While they most cordially welcomed the brethren who bring congratulations to us from the English churches, it could not be forgotten that they felt deeply and sorrowfully the actual position of English Congregationalists. While among these brethren some have from first to last, most constantly, devotedly, and eloquently defended our cause, they would frankly acknowledge that they bitterly perceived that the majority of the Congregationalists of England had not *desired* the success of our armies, and that the dominant influence of the Congregational Union of England had been against us. The committee desired to express no unkind remembrance as of injury to us, but would accept the testimony of these brethren with us as the best proof of a desire to maintain hereafter relations between us and them of an inseparable faith and union."

On this report arose a spicy and very significant debate. Rev. A. H. Quint, late chaplain in our army, was quite frank, if not discourteously severe, saying, "England, I suppose, is now on our side. She is always on the side of the strongest battalions; always ready to follow the powerful, and to crush the weak. Some of you may say that I feel strongly upon this subject. I have earned the right to feel so by a three years' risk of my life in the service of my country, where I had to fight England, and saw my comrades fall, and knew that they fell by British bullets from British muskets, loaded with British powder, fired by men wearing British shoes and clothing, and backed by British sympathy. When those cheers were given to Dr. Vaughan's speech the other day, I thought I heard in them the whiz of the bullet, the crash of the bursting shell, the groans of the wounded, the

weeping of the orphans and the wailing of widows at home, made so by British sympathy for our rebels."

To these utterances, by no means too strong to represent the deliberate and settled convictions of nearly our whole people, Dr. Vaughan, in reply, "thought he could relieve their minds by some fuller statements. He then proceeded to justify the silence of the Congregational Union, on the ground that it is a body so heterogeneous in its composition as to render necessary the greatest care in excluding every topic upon which there could not be an entire harmony of opinion. Dissension, they feared, would result in dissolution. And so, as they did not agree on the subject of the American war, those who did sympathize with us in the hour of our agony, and who would have ranged themselves on our side in our efforts to maintain the cause of liberty and the dearest interests of Christianity, were compelled to keep silent. He then proceeded to speak of his own opinion, which he now saw to be an incorrect one, that the North could not subdue the South, if it tried; that the trial would cost a fearful sacrifice of life, and that even the overthrow of slavery would not compensate for the cost of its removal by war. He now, however, saw that there was at the South a state of society essentially feudal, if not barbarian, which moral means would never change, and which could be swept from the earth only by fire and sword."

"Had Dr. V." says one reporting the discussion, "gone a little farther, and told us that he was wrong in declaring our free government a nuisance that ought to be abated, and our growing republic a danger which should be removed by its dismemberment, and had offered a Christian and manly apology for the sharp, bitter words he had printed concerning his Christian brethren here, during their mighty struggle with the powers of darkness, the whole assembly would have taken him to their hearts in forgiveness and love."

Dr. Thompson, N. Y., in a spirit of fraternal candor and courtesy, "reminded us of the affirmation of Buchanan, at the commencement of the strife, that the general government could not coerce a State, and of Lincoln's afterward, that we were not aiming at the abolition of slavery. What wonder, then, if our English brethren were led astray, when our own rulers gave them the premises from which their false conclusions were drawn?"

The scene, however, reached its culmination of interest in a

burst of eloquence from Henry Ward Beecher, that was remarkable even for him. "Though the facts mentioned," he said, "did furnish some excuse, and in part account for the hostility of English Congregationalists to us and our cause, they do not constitute a *justification*. Our French brethren never, for a moment, fell into any such errors, though speaking another language, and having far less opportunity for understanding the interior forces at work in our American society. How did it happen that Dr. Vaughan, and those he represents, fell into such opinions, and indulged such feelings?"

Then, dropping this personal view of the matter, he began "the larger international question in a strain of lofty and burning eloquence that opened a scene of wild enthusiasm and excitement, such as has seldom been witnessed in any deliberative body, least of all in an assembly of educated and self-poised men. He led us by a few graphic sentences over the ground of his recent visit to England, describing the horrible state of public sentiment there on his arrival, and his sharp contest with the 'wild beasts of Ephesus,' then tracing the changes which had since taken place, and urging the largest magnanimity on our part toward the mother country, which, its aristocracy and snobs excepted, had, after all, been on the whole true to us, and in sympathy with our great cause. Bursting into a strain of vehement eloquence, he called for perpetual union and unity between these two great Protestant nations of the earth, upon whose united action the cause of liberty and Christ throughout the world so largely depends; and, when, reaching down from the platform, he seized the hands of Dr. Raleigh and Dr. Vaughan, and cried, 'I give the hand of fellowship and love to Old England,' the whole vast assembly, by a universal impulse, rose to their feet, waving hats and handkerchiefs and hands, and sending up cheer after cheer for the future union of England and America in all the conflicts of liberty, and in all the works of Christian love."


This frankness we regard as wise, for English Christians ought to know how we feel; but, however wrong in their views or feelings, we are bound as Christians to requite them only in kindness, to overcome evil on their part with good on ours, and resist, in every way possible, all thought of appealing to the sword for the settlement of any present or future disputes between the two countries. For ourselves, we shall continue to say what we


think of England's treatment of us in the hour of our national agony; but the only revenge we desire will be, we trust, to treat her as fairly and kindly as if she had done us no injury, to secure for her whatever may be justly due from our own Government, and insist that, hereafter, controversies between us shall in no case be referred to the blind, brutal arbitrament of battle, but only by negotiation, or some mode of reference. Few among us but will say with Mr. Beecher, "I do not believe there will be any cause of offence given by the English Government. If that which I understand to be the demand of our Government, as unquestionably it will be,—reparation for the losses we have suffered through their malfeasance and defective administration,—is denied, let it be referred to some just and disinterested party." (Applause.) It will be a burning shame if Christians let England and America ever go to war again on *any* issue.


OUR INTERNAL TAXES.—The sum-total of these for the year ending July 1, 1864, was \$116,850,672, of which New York paid nearly twenty-five millions; Pennsylvania, about thirteen millions; Ohio, nearly twelve millions; Massachusetts, more than eleven millions; Illinois, nearly ten millions. The following figures show how war taxes for its support every class of interests:—

Incomes taxed.....	\$14,919,279
Licenses for business, exhibitions, etc.....	7,178,205
Licenses for retailing liquors.....	1,612,736
Licenses for wholesale liquors.....	176,764
Commercial brokers.....	204,098
Physicians.....	232,774
Lawyers.....	129,186
Manufactures and productions.....	75,403,386
Slaughtered animals.....	695,201
Liquors manufactured, as ale, etc.....	2,223,719
Distilled liquors.....	28,431,797
Illinois, \$7,262,438; Ohio, \$6,442,408; New York, \$5,986,255, etc.	
Rock and coal oils.....	2,225,328
Leather.....	3,679,483
Paper and its manufacture.....	901,914
Cigars.....	1,255,424
Tobacco of all kinds.....	7,086,684
Manufactures of wool.....	3,007,885
Sugar directly from the cane.....	1,267,616
Cotton, raw.....	1,268,412
“ manufactured.....	1,335,027



 **TO EDITORS**—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.


 **TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL**—the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

 Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706.....	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196,.....	75
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,.....	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252,.....	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. F. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212,.....	25
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108	20
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier. 16 mo., pp. 303. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.....	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,.....	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310,.....	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond. 8vo., pp. 168.....	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.,.....	20
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2 50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.....	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12,.....	5
Le Monde; or, in time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.....	
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts.	

FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. —  Be very careful to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your purpose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE.—*The law allows* only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may be addressed all communications designed for the Society.


THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

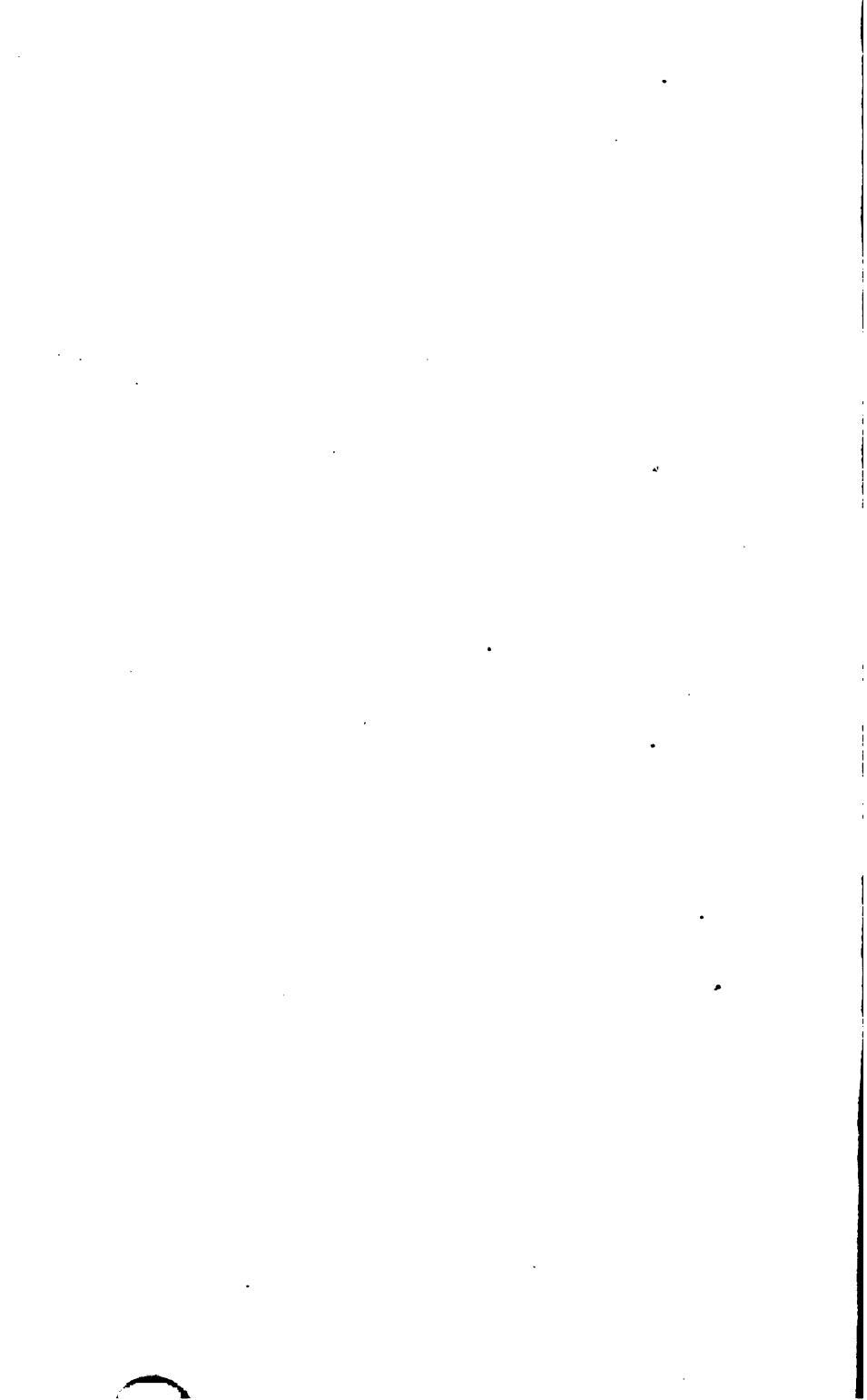
SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER.

CONTENTS.

Present Duty of Peacemen.....	325	Union Commanders.....	349
Reduction of our Army.....	327	Wages — What is paid in Europe for	
Reduction of our Navy.....	328	Common Labor.....	349
How War increases Wealth.....	328	Incident from the War.....	349
Suicide of War.....	329	British Statesmen on Peace.....	350
American Taxation.....	332	Peace and Elections.....	350
War Economy.....	334	Jews in our Rebellion.....	350
One Fruit of War.....	334	Feelings in Battle.....	351
American Rebellions.....	335	The Oil Business.....	352
The Right of War.....	336	Relative Decay of the Sexes.....	353
The Peace Doctrine.....	337	The Periodical Business.....	353
Our Example in the late Rebellion..	340	British Sentiment and Sympathy...353	
England and France... ..	341	How much it costs to collect our	
Final Prices in Richmond.....	345	National Tax.....	354
The two Southern Mothers.....	346	Increase of British Expenses.....	354
Popular Accumulations in the War..	346	Gen. Grant's Captures.....	355
War and Liberty.....	347	Military Legislators	355
Waste of Rebel Troops.....	347	Rebellion and the Periodical Press..	356
Mortality in War.....	348	Common Sense urging Peace Meas-	
Waste of Life in War.....	348	ures	356
Habits Created in War.....	348		

 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.
CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCEY STREET.
1865.



THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER, 1865.

PRESENT DUTY OF PEACEMEN.

THE collapse of our rebellion imposes on the friends of peace a variety of special duties. We cannot now specify them all; but the first and most urgent of them all is clearly that of bringing our cause aright before the mass of our people throughout the land.

There ought, indeed, to be no special need of this, and would not have been, if our statements, oft repeated and widely circulated, had been duly heeded. The fault is less our own than that of a reputedly Christian public strangely indifferent to this part of their religion. There can be but little excuse for ignorance or misconception on the subject, because ample means of information have been for nearly fifty years before the community. Still the fact remains indisputable, that the cause is little known, or greatly misconceived, by the mass of even intelligent Christians; and before we can hope to see its claims adequately appreciated and met, there must be given everywhere "line upon line, and precept upon precept," until the cause of Peace, like that of the Bible, of Temperance, or of Missions, shall become a familiar, favorite, and consecrated theme in every Christian household.

Such a result we confidently expect, sooner or later; for no enterprise of benevolence or reform can be more truly Christian, or

more vital to the general welfare of our race, than that which seeks to abolish the custom of war. We see not how any Christian, if fully informed on the subject, can view it in any other light; and the chief reason why its claims are so generally ignored, or undervalued, is found in the fact that these claims have not been brought and kept, as they should have been, before the Christian community. If familiar with its nature and importance, we can hardly suppose it possible for them to slumber over it, as they have done, age after age, and let this master sin and scourge of the world continue all over Christendom itself, while they hold in their hands God's sovereign remedy in his gospel for the cure of this great evil.

Clearly, then, it becomes the friends of peace, especially in view of what we have ourselves suffered during the last four years from the war habits of our people, to make sure of bringing this subject in its full magnitude and importance before the entire mass of our people. Our late rebellion caps the climax of all arguments in favor of our cause; and we shall be quite recreant to our sacred trust as its plighted friends, if we do not do everything in our power to keep its claims before the Christian community. Can we do less than this? Certainly not; and we ought, with the least delay possible, to bring it, with its leading facts and arguments, before all our higher seminaries of learning, before the conductors of all our leading journals, and before a select but very large number of our forty thousand preachers of the gospel. By such means, we shall at least clear our own skirts, and transfer a portion of the responsibility touching this cause to the friends of God and man all over our land.

It is just this service we are now undertaking; but we are sorry to say that we have not at our command the funds requisite for its performance, and must make for this purpose a special appeal to our friends. We shall need not less than \$20,000; and whatever of this sum is raised must probably come, nearly all, from the few faithful, devoted friends who have stood by the cause through the terrible ordeal of the last four years. To this vanguard of peace we must chiefly look. Unless they will rally now to its support, and spontaneously contribute liberally for this special effort, it must of course fail partially, if not entirely. May the God of peace guide them all to a right conclusion. Will they not ponder the subject well, and send us soon as favorable responses as their circumstan-

ces will allow? Some of our wealthy friends, if they viewed the matter as we do, would deem it a privilege to give even five or ten thousand dollars, and others would contribute as largely as they lately have to kindred popular objects of charity or patriotism.

REDUCTION OF OUR ARMY.

THE malign influence of rebellion or civil war upon the peaceful habits and free institutions of a people has well-nigh passed into a proverb. History is full of sad illustrations on this point. The case of Mexico still under our eyes, that of France near the close of the last century, and that of England herself under the Puritan Cromwell and his Ironsides, are painfully familiar to us all. Well might we fear lest the most successful efforts to crush our rebellion should subvert or imperil our liberties, and lead to a fatal change of those peaceful habits which have so long and so honorably characterized our people.

God be praised for a result thus far so contrary to our fears. No sooner was a decisive blow given to the rebellion, than our soldiers eagerly turned their eyes back to their loved homes, and longed for a discharge that they might resume their peaceful pursuits which they had left for a time only to rescue their country from its perils. Such was the feeling of the whole country; and scarce did a week pass after the fall of Richmond before our government began the work of disbanding its vast armies, dismantling its war-ships, and selling off at any price the immense amount of articles accumulated during the war.

This process is still going on; and it may yet take much time to unwind so vast a piece of machinery as was kept at work through four long years to suppress our rebellion. A writer at Washington, Aug. 10, 1865, states some very significant facts on this subject:—

“I have ascertained from official sources that on the first day of May there were 1,050,000 enrolled in the army and on the pay-rolls. Since that date there have been discharged a little over 700,000, leaving about 330,000 still in the army. Of the number discharged about 350,000 are now *en route*, and at their several rendezvous, to be paid off and mustered out. The funds sufficient to meet this demand are in the hands of the paymasters, and are being paid out as fast as possible. The others who have been dis-

charged, or over four hundred thousand, have been fully paid off and mustered out. The rapidity with which this part of the work is performed may be inferred from the fact, that the official figures in the departments at Washington show that there have been paid off and mustered out in the last thirty days over 260,000.

This shows that Gen. Parsons, of St. Louis, in his recent speech, in stating that about 800,000 men had been discharged from our armies, was not so wide of the mark as many supposed. These enormous figures show an important fact in regard to the finances of the government, and must have a beneficial effect not only in increasing the confidence of the people in our financial situation, but greatly relieve the Treasury Department from the embarrassments which many of our people supposed beset it."

We cannot help gazing in admiration on the moral grandeur of such a scene — 800,000 citizen soldiers disbanded in a few months, and cheerfully returning, without disturbance or complaint, to the peaceful pursuits of other years. Was the like ever seen in the world's history? Are not such a people, in a country so vast, rich and beautiful, destined to a glorious future? What but war and its suicidal habits can blast or blight them?

REDUCTION OF OUR NAVY. — We are glad to see our navy, like our army, reduced with such commendable promptitude, especially as there can be much less need of the former than of the latter. It is now said, that "by the end of the year the navy will be reduced to nearly the same strength as at the commencement of the war. Only three iron-clads will be retained in service — one each at Charleston, New Orleans and San Francisco. The rest will be laid up near Philadelphia.

HOW WAR INCREASES WEALTH. — The imports of Nassau rose during our rebellion from £274,584 in 1861, to £4,295,316 in 1863, nearly 2,000 per cent., and the value of land in the city and suburbs rose 300 or 400 per cent., and, in good business situations, much more. One instance of commercial prosperity from war, to a hundred or a thousand of wide and fearful loss. How soon did all this collapse with the sudden fall of our rebellion! In a plague or the cholera, the physician and undertaker often reap awhile a golden harvest; but the little thus gained by a few, is distress, poverty and death to the many. Such is all war, and every *seeming* exception will sooner or later be found only to prove the general rule.

SUICIDE OF WAR.

WELL did our Saviour say, "They that take the sword shall perish by the sword." It was a terrible warning; and there is scarce a page of history that does not confirm its truth. What a sad and fearful commentary upon it is the result of the late rebellion, in its suicidal recoil upon the whole South! In her pride and madness, she grasped the sword to gain her ends; and after nearly five years of fierce and desperate trial, let her own sons tell the result:

Says the *Daily News*, published in Charleston, S. C., the birth-place and nursery of the rebellion, "of \$15,000,000 in bank stock, all is lost. Of \$5,000,000 bills in circulation, the market value is not more than twenty per cent. Of three insurance companies, neither can continue business. Of \$20,000,000 in railroads, no dividends can be expected. Of 5,000 houses in Charleston, 1,500 have been burned, and others almost irreparably damaged. Of estates of decedents and minors, and of property in litigation, four fifths are represented by Confederate securities, and are therefore valueless.

Of our many merchants, lately of large capital and unblemished credit, few have assets to pay the small debts against them at the beginning of the war. Of the many large and valuable estates in Beaufort District and the adjacent islands, all have been abandoned, and many have been sold for taxes. Of the large cotton estates, still further from the seaboard, many have been desolated. Of the cotton on hand at the beginning and raised during the war (amounting in value to at least \$20,000,000), the larger portion has been taken or destroyed. Of the stock, horses, hogs, cattle, farming implements, utensils and furniture, and silver ware, all but an inconsiderable amount have been consumed, destroyed, or taken.

Of the money in the hands of our citizens at the commencement of the war, or accruing from the sale of property, from the practice of professions, or the payment of debts, all has been invested in securities, of which nine tenths have no possible value. Of the debts uncollected, few are expected to be paid. Of the funds of churches, colleges, charitable institutions and societies, all, or nearly all, have been sunk. Of the lands of the State, not held by the Government, little has any market value. Into this frightful gulf of ruin has also been swept the value of four hundred thousand slaves, estimated a few years since at \$200,000,000. Thus of the \$400,000,000 worth of property in this State in 1860, but little more than \$50,000,000 now remains."

Mr. Perry, the Provisional Governor of S. C., says, "We have lost our capital in negro property. It is gone. We are reduced as a people to bankruptcy. We have been in affluence, and our riches have flown away. From what source came the result? It

is from the war ; it is one of the penalties we must pay. It was a war of our own seeking. We have been impoverished by our folly. Towns have been burned and destroyed, our fields have been laid waste, our homes and cattle have been taken from us, and our children have fallen on bloody fields."

And what now is Charleston, the hot-bed of rebellion, that was to rival New York, Liverpool, and even London itself? "A city of ruins," says one on the spot, Sept. 9, 1865, "of desolation, of vacant houses, of widowed women, of rotting wharves, of deserted warehouses, of weed-wild gardens, of miles of grass-grown streets, of acres of pitiful and voiceful barrenness — that is Charleston wherein rebellion loftily reared its head five years ago, on whose beautiful promenade the fairest of cultured women gathered with passionate hearts to applaud the assault of ten thousand upon the little garrison of Fort Sumter !

'The mills of the gods grind slow, but they grind exceeding small.' Be sure Charleston knows what these words mean. Be sure the pride of the eyes of these men and women has been laid low. Be sure they have eaten wormwood, and their souls have worn sackcloth. 'God's ways seem dark, but soon or late they touch the shining hills of day.' Henceforth let us rest content in this faith ; for here is enough of woe and want and ruin and ravage to satisfy the most insatiate heart — enough of sore humiliation and bitter overthrow to appease the desire of the most vengeful spirit."

A like cry comes up from the late capital of the rebellion. "According to the census for 1860," says the *Richmond Republic*, "the entire property of the fifteen Slave States was valued at \$7,000,000,000. What portion of this wealth has the South lost by the war? The slaves who have been freed, and their value lost by the war, were valued at \$2,400,000,000. The entire damage to Southern property by the direct ravages of war may be estimated at \$900,000,000. In Georgia, \$100,000,000 ; South Carolina, \$100,000,000 ; North Carolina, \$15,000,000 ; Virginia, during the four years the war raged within its limits, \$250,000,000 ; Missouri and Tennessee, \$75,000,000 each ; Kentucky, Arkansas, and Alabama \$30,000,000 each. Then there is the indirect loss of four crops of the great Southern staples — cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar. For the last year before the war the cotton crop was worth \$250,000,000. Four such crops, at similar prices, would have

yielded a thousand millions. The tobacco crop for 1860 was worth forty millions. The rice and cane-sugar crops for 1860 were worth each above twenty millions. Four such crops would have brought \$160,000,000. Here would have been an aggregate loss of \$1,300,000,000, supposing that there had been an absolute non-production of the staples for the last four years. The cotton, tobacco, rice, and sugar crops that have actually been made during the period, would not reduce this figure below \$900,000,000. It is true that wheat and corn have been, to a considerable extent, substituted for these crops; but their yield was all consumed by the Confederate armies and the slaves, and contributed nothing to the general wealth.

The debt of the Confederacy at the time of its collapse was at least \$4,000,000,000, due to the Southern people almost exclusively; and they will have to bear the loss of the capital and the other original values which it represents. It was not \$4,000,000,000 in gold, or anything like it, that the Southern people gave to the Richmond government for these bonds now held by them; if only one eighth of that sum, we have an absolute Southern loss through this source of five hundred millions in gold.

Moreover, the proportion of the national war debt which the Southern people will have to pay, will be a dead loss to them, inasmuch as none of it is due to them. It is impossible to say what this proportion will be, for it is impossible to say what proportion of the property in the Union they will have during the time when the debt is in process of liquidation. In 1860, they had about one third of the property in the Union. Had they the same proportion now, their contribution to meet the national debt would be at least one thousand millions of dollars. At the present time they have not one sixth, probably not one eighth, so much property as the North; and the taxation upon them, if levied now, to pay the debt, would be correspondingly limited.

Thus have we enumerated the Southern losses to the amount of \$5,800,000,000 — \$2,500,000,000 by the loss of what was called slave-property, \$900,000,000 from the ravages of the war, \$900,000,000 by loss of staple crops, \$500,000,000 sunk in Confederate debt, and \$1,000,000,000 by what must hereafter be paid by the South to liquidate the national debt. We might have included many other items; and the estimate, rough as it is, falls short of the actual truth."

AMERICAN TAXATION:

ONE OF THE LEGACIES OF THE LATE REBELLION.

THE following table when analyzed teaches a most impressive lesson of the fatal effects of war on the well-being of nations:—

	Popula- tion.	Debt.	Taxes Levied.	Taxes per capita.
United States,				
1820,.....	9,638,191	\$91,015,566	\$15,005,612	\$1.55
1865, est'd....	34,500,000	3,000,000,000	350,000,000	10.15
G. Britain,				
1821,.....	21,280,887	£843,388,804	£55,530,073	13.05
1865, est'd,...	29,500,000	808,288,000	66,392,000	11.25

In this country we have long looked down upon the nations of Europe, and especially upon their laboring classes, as inferior to us in intelligence and well-being; but we never fully appreciated the real causes of our superiority. We shall probably ere long discover this by dear-bought experience, that great teacher of humanity. Our past prosperity was undoubtedly due mainly to our fertile lands, which could be had for little or nothing; to our economical Government, consequent on having no war-debt of the past to provide for, and no armies and navies to maintain for future wars; and to the non-interference of the Government with the freedom of individual action. In 1820, every inhabitant of Great Britain was taxed for the maintenance of the Central Government, \$13 05, while the American was taxed, for the same purpose, only \$1.55, being a difference of \$11.50 per capita in favor of the American, or per annum \$110,839,196—say considerably more than our entire national debt at that period. Is it surprising, then, that we were able rapidly to liquidate the moderate debt incurred by the wars of the Revolution and of 1812?

To-day, on the contrary, our taxes are undoubtedly much greater per capita than those of Great Britain. The above table shows a difference in our favor, estimating our peace expenditures at \$350,000,000, of \$1.10 per capita; but against this we must remember that we have to provide for the maintenance of our State Governments, which is an expenditure unknown in Great Britain, and that the British local and municipal taxes are much less than ours. In this city (N. Y.), the local and State taxes for the current year amount to \$17,246.809; say, over \$17 per capita, in addition to all the direct and indirect Federal taxes.

Thus we formerly contended in our race with other nations under most favorable circumstances, having to carry only feather weights, while our competitors were forced to carry heavy weights. Men who have indulged in the sports of the turf, can appreciate the advantage we thus possessed. To-day we must contend in the race, carrying equal or heavier weights than our competitors. Most persons will say 'what is \$11.50 increased taxation per capita? Such a trifle can make no difference in the long run.' But this is a great error; \$11.50 per capita to a laborer or mechanic with an average family of five persons is \$57.50 per annum. This amount will purchase tools and instruments that will greatly increase the product of his labor during the following year, and every increase of production furnishes additional means to economize and to increase future production. Besides, we must never forget the difference in its moral effect on the future efforts of a man, whether at the end of the year he finds himself no better off than at the commencement, or whether he finds he has accumulated \$50 to his credit in a savings-bank, or invested in tools or instruments that will aid his further progress. In one case a man goes

to his work disheartened and discouraged, and is easily led to abandon all efforts for economy and progress. In the other, seeing the successful results of his previous efforts, he goes to his work with redoubled courage and vigor, and is led to economize in every way so as to insure increased means of further progress and accumulation.

Beside all this, Europe was formerly cursed with most vicious systems of taxation, which were made doubly onerous by the great expense of collection, and by the vexatious interferences they created with the beneficial operations of industry and commerce, while we were entirely free from all taxation, except moderate duties on our foreign imports. To-day Great Britain has discarded her most oppressive excise and customs duties, which are now levied on only 14 articles in all, and her income tax is only 6d. on the pound, or 2 1-2 per cent. We, on the contrary, now impose average duties of 45 per cent. on our entire foreign imports, and we levy oppressive excise and license taxes on everything that man manipulates with a view to contribute to his well-being, beside imposing stamp taxes on every possible contract and instrument he executes, and our income tax is five per cent. on incomes of \$5,000 and under, and ten per cent. on incomes over that amount. No nation on the face of the globe has ever attempted to impose taxes so universal and so oppressive, the injurious effects of which on our industry and commerce cannot yet be foreseen.

The army of government officials which will be required to enforce and collect these taxes were formerly producers, but are now mere burdens on the industry of the country. The increased government patronage this creates will vastly aggravate the main cause of the demoralization of our government officials. The first effects of our enormous excise and customs duties will be to offer a premium for frauds on the revenue. This will throw the business of the country into the hands of unscrupulous and dishonest men; and the only mode to repress these frauds will be to organize, as was formerly the system in Europe, an immense corps of government spies and public informers. It is not easy to imagine the fatal effect this will produce on individual freedom, and on individual happiness and well-being. The innocent will suffer for the acts of the guilty, and in a few years, if our present system be continued, men of intelligence and energy will flee the country, as was formerly the case in Europe.

But fully to comprehend all the evil effects of war, we must remember that every dollar unproductively employed or squandered, is not only an injury to the present generation, but a still greater injury to all future generations, whose well-being and progress depend mainly on the accumulations and progress made by the generations that preceded them. Every dollar we waste or squander, every progress we fail to achieve, is an irreparable loss inflicted on our children, on their descendants and all future generations. By their exertions they may supply our deficiencies, and repair our waste and errors; but our waste and our deficiencies, nevertheless, will prevent them from attaining the position and the well-being they might otherwise attain; for the efforts they will have to make to repair our omissions and commissions, could be applied to the achievement of new progress, and to the attainment of increased well-being and enjoyment, all of which will be greatly increased by all that we discover, invent and economize.

If we estimate the total war expenditures of the North and South at \$5,000,000,000, and the diminution of production and the destruction of property in the shape of railroads and railroad equipment, manufactories, houses, inclosures, cattle, etc., etc., at \$3,000,000,000, we have a grand total of \$8,000,000,000 as the loss occasioned by the war. Capital in

this country doubles at compound interest in about ten years, but let us say in fifteen years. Could we have been saved the contest of the past four years, the United States would possess, in excess of what she will possess—

In 1880	\$16,000,000,000
In 1895	32,000,000,000
In 1910	64,000,000,000
In 1925	128,000,000,000
In 1940	256,000,000,000
In 1955	512,000,000,000
In 1970	1,024,000,000,000

Who can estimate the progress and well-being which this enormous amount of wealth would represent? And this is without taking into consideration the loss of life consequent on the war. Every full-grown man is one of the most fruitful sources of production that exists, and it takes twenty to thirty years to bring him to his full development. What, then, must we estimate the loss consequent on the destruction of 600,000 men, who have died from disease and wounds in the hospitals, and on the battle-fields during the course of the war?

Let any one reflect fully on this terrible subject, and he cannot fail to agree with us, that war is the greatest crime and the source of the most terrible evils, that have ever afflicted humanity. When will civilization induce man to eradicate this fruitful source of crime and evil?—*Commercial Advertiser*, (N. Y.) Aug. 7, 1865.

WAR ECONOMY. — So late as September (1865) more than one hundred generals remained in the service unemployed. How vast must have been the number of inferior officers doing no immediate duty! One of our secular papers "asks what possible employment can now be found for the one hundred and thirty generals who are to be retained in the service at an estimated cost of over \$1,500,000 a year? Some of the departments to which from four to eight of these generals have been assigned, contain but few regiments; and if the army shall be reduced, as we are assured it is to be, to one hundred thousand men, these generals would hardly have a regiment apiece to command. The public do not see the necessity at present of such an enormous expense. The tax-payers want to see the work of reduction in our national expenses carried out in the most thorough manner." Very just demands all these; but anything like real economy is quite impossible under the war-system. It is and ever must be throughout a huge, incomparable prodigality.

ONE FRUIT OF WAR. — No less than 50,000 widows are said to be already receiving pensions from our government. How many more are to be put upon the list of such sufferers from the rebellion, we know not; but very likely the sum-total on both sides may yet reach 150,000. Add the much larger number of orphans; and what a multitude of witnesses to the woes inseparable from war! God have mercy on the men who shall be found in the day of final reckoning responsible for these woes!

AMERICAN REBELLIONS.

THE following condensed sketch, though lacking somewhat in logical discrimination, still gives a just popular view of the successive attempts made in this country to resist the authority or the laws of either the National or the State Governments. The one principle pervading and characterizing all such attempts, is a *combined effort to prevent the enforcement of law*; and this may be called a mob, an insurrection, or a rebellion. Webster says a rebel is "one who revolts from the government to which he owes *allegiance*," while an enemy is one who owes no such allegiance. Rebellion he defines as "an open and avowed renunciation of the authority of the government to which one owes allegiance. *Rebellion* differs from *insurrection* and from *mutiny*. *Insurrection* may be a rising in opposition to a particular act or law, without a design to renounce wholly all subjection to the government. *Insurrection* may be, but is not necessarily, rebellion." The idea characterizing all such acts is "open resistance to lawful authority."

"Before the gigantic rebellion that is now in its death-throes, there have been six insurrections, or attempted insurrections, since the formation of the Federal Government. Some of these outbreaks were rather riots, bloodless demonstrations of popular discontent; but they are generally called insurrections, and it is sufficient for our present purpose so to consider them.

1. What is popularly known as Shay's Rebellion is the first instance of organized resistance to lawful government in the United States. In 1786, Daniel Shay, a citizen of Massachusetts, became the leader of a party of malcontents in the Old Bay State, which had organized to right such grievances as heavy State taxation, the high salary of the Governor, the aristocratic tendencies of the State Senate, and other similar local grievances. It was entirely a family quarrel, and the State troops settled the difficulty by killing three of the insurgents, and wounding others. Shay and some of his fellow-insurrectionists were captured, and subsequently tried, convicted, and sentenced to death; but all were finally pardoned, and thus ended Shay's Rebellion.

2. The Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania, toward the close of the administration of President Washington, was a more formidable outbreak. It arose from discontent caused by the heavy excise tax imposed by Congress upon distilled domestic spirits. This insurrection ended without bloodshed.

3. Burr's enterprise in 1807, the precise meaning of which has never been clearly made out, but which is believed to have been the intended invasion of Mexico, and the formation of a great south-western empire, was the next revolutionary movement. In that case no overt act of treason was committed; and the trial of Burr, in Richmond, resulted in an abandonment of the prosecution by the Government, and the acquittal of the accused.

4. Nullification in South Carolina in 1832 was, in its effects, a more mischievous revolutionary effort than either of those that had preceded it; but in this case there was no bloodshed, no overt act of war, and no punishment inflicted upon any of the leaders.

5. Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island, about a quarter of a century ago, has frequently been referred to by Southern rebels, along with Shay's Rebellion, the Whiskey Insurrection and Burr's *fasca*, by way of excuse for secession,

the main actors in all these movements being Northern men. But there is no parallel among any of the cases spoken of. Dorr found Rhode Island governed by an old charter granted the State by Charles II., as far back as 1663. He agitated its repeal; and upon a popular vote its abrogation was ordained, and he was elected governor upon the reform ticket. Governor King, and the charter party which he led, refused to recognize the act of the people, and armed resistance was made to the Dorrites. John Tyler, then accidental President, sent United States troops to aid the State forces of Rhode Island; and after a bloodless struggle, Governor Dorr was arrested, tried, and sentenced to imprisonment for life. He was afterward pardoned, the record of his sentence ordered to be expunged, and he lived to see the old monarchical charter legally abolished, and a republican constitution adopted.

6. John Brown's famous raid into Virginia in 1859 comes next among recognized American outbreaks. Brown, with a score of followers, made war upon Virginia; and, in pursuit of a wild project of freeing the slaves in the Old Dominion, he took possession of United States property at Harper's Ferry, and broke the laws of the commonwealth of Virginia. That State dealt out harsh justice to the offenders, and but a single soul of them escaped. Those who were not killed in the unequal fight, or murdered after they were made prisoners, were hanged, and Virginia made herself almost as ridiculous in her wholesale sanguinary settling of accounts with the raiders, as she had before made herself by her childish fears and trepidation.

7. The great rebellion which began in 1861 is the next outbreak in order. Strangely enough, the nearest parallel to it among all former American insurrections is the John Brown raid. There was bloodshed in the case of the latter, every soul of the raiding party, except one who made his escape, either biting the dust in the field, or ending his career upon the gallows. But Brown made war upon what he honestly and enthusiastically believed to be a wrong, and not in support of a crime. Brown was not educated at the expense of Virginia; he had never sworn especially to support its constitution and its laws, and he never enjoyed high honors and emoluments at the hands of the commonwealth which he made war upon.

THE RIGHT OF WAR. — It is time that the right of war should not shield governments from the infamy due to hostilities to which selfish, wicked passions give birth. Let rulers learn, that for this right they are held to a fearful responsibility. Let a war, not founded in plain justice and necessity, never be named but as murder. Let the Christian give articulate voice to the blood that cries from the earth against rulers by whom it has been criminally shed. Let no soft terms be used. On this subject a new moral sense, and a new language, are needed throughout the civilized and Christian world; and just in proportion as the truth shall find a tone, war will cease. But the right of war, which is said to belong to sovereignty, not only keeps out of sight the enormous guilt of rulers in almost all national conflicts; it also hides or extenuates the frequent guilt of subjects in taking part in the hostilities which their rulers declare. In this way, much of the prevalent insensibility to the evils of war is induced, and perhaps on no point is light more needed. The ferocity and cruelty of armies impress us little, because we look on them as doing a work of duty. The subject or citizen, as we think, is bound to obey his rulers. In his worst deeds, as a soldier, he is discharging his obligation to the State; and this murder and pillage, covered with a cloak of duty, excite no deep, unaffected reprobation and horror.—*Dr. Channing.*

THE PEACE DOCTRINE:

THE SPONTANEOUS TESTIMONY OF THE HEATHEN TO ITS TRUTH.

WE often speculate as to what impression of Christianity would be received by an individual who came to the study of the New Testament with a mind perfectly free from all preoccupation, derived from the opinions and feelings of others. It is now almost impossible to make the experiment. Around the simple words of the Lord Jesus and his apostles have grown innumerable accretions, theological, ecclesiastical, ethical, which we have come, quite unconsciously, to accept as forming part of the words themselves. What we all receive from our earliest years, is not the direct natural meaning which the language of these inspired instructors conveys, but what our uninspired teachers *understand* them to mean, they also in their turn having derived their understanding of the meaning from those who preceded them. The heavenly light comes to us colored and refracted in a thousand ways by the medium of human prejudices and traditions through which it passes. Not that there is in all this any intentional perversion of the truth, nor perhaps, necessarily, any perversion at all. But most certainly the minds of very few of us have been permitted to come into immediate contact with the minds of those who were the primary vehicles of the divine element. This is especially true of those countries where Christianity has long prevailed, and become more or less interwoven with the whole tissue of men's thoughts, and interests, and even their social and political institutions. For in such a case, apart even from the dogmatic and didactic forms in which its teachings are usually presented to us by catechisms and creeds, and orthodox expositions of Scripture, there is an atmosphere of traditionalism which rushes in upon the young soul on all sides, and envelops it as completely and inevitably as the natural atmosphere does our bodies.

The nearest approach, perhaps, we can have in these modern times to the thing we desiderate, is furnished by the experience of our missionaries in presenting Christianity to the heathen. Even there, of course, the truth is colored to some extent in passing through the mind of the missionary to those of his catechumens. But there is little or nothing of that "atmosphere of traditionalism" of which we have spoken, to interfere with and modify the effect which the first simple aspect of the Gospel revelation is adapted to produce. When the New Testament itself is put into the hands of those unsophisticated people, and is allowed directly to act upon their minds, uninfluenced by the teachers' comments, the experiment is still more satisfactory and decisive. Tried by these conditions, then, we may fairly conclude that the absolute incompatibility of war with Christianity is one of the things which the Gospel teaches with an accent so perfectly distinct, that it never fails to convey itself into the convictions of those who listen to it for the first time, if only they can listen to it undisturbed by the Babel hubbub of voices with which "the churches" insist upon accompanying and interpreting the utterance of the sacred oracle.

It is really very remarkable how uniformly this impression is left upon the minds of the heathen, when the Gospel is first presented to them, whether they receive or reject it. Those who receive it feel that from that time they are *ipso facto* disarmed — that it is no longer lawful for them to fight. Rev. John Williams, the distinguished missionary in the South Seas, known as the "Martyr of Eromanga," thus wrote to a friend as to the effects produced by the natives in the Navigators' Island who had received Christianity:—"The entire cessation of their sanguinary wars is an interesting feature of this mission. When Matedau, a chief spoken of in the 'Mis-

sonary Enterprises,' became really converted, he called together his friends and relatives, and having a large stock of muskets, clubs, etc., he distributed them all, not reserving one for himself, but holding up the Gospel of Matthew, he said to them, 'This is the only weapon with which I will ever fight again.' He had been a great warrior." To the same effect is the testimony of Mr. George Pritchard, in his work "The Missionary's Reward, or the success of the Gospel in the Pacific." "Among the many happy results," says he, "which have flowed from the introduction of the Gospel to these islands, none is more remarkable than the abandonment of war. The weapons of war and instruments of death are now seen stuck in the roofs of their lowly huts, covered with dust, and going to decay; or they are converted into implements of industry, or disposed of to visitors as articles of curiosity no longer necessary." Still more striking is the declaration of Mr. Ellis, who has since become so well known in connection with Madagascar, but who, in the earlier part of his life, was for several years a missionary in the South Seas. "The last pulpit stairs," says he, "that I ascended in Rurutu, were railed with warriors' spears, being converted to that use because they were no longer necessary to them as Christians." Mr. Ellis further informed a friend at New York, "that they (the missionaries) had not instructed the natives in particular in regard to war; but as soon as they had learned to read the Bible understandingly, they adopted and acted on pacific principles, as evidently taught in the Scriptures, which led Mr. Ellis to investigate the subject more fully, and the result was that he was fully convinced that Christians were prohibited having recourse to deadly weapons for redress or defence."

In New Zealand, also, the result was the same. Rev. William Yates, in his work giving an account of the early proceedings in New Zealand, says:—"The language which the natives themselves use, expresses what eventually will be the effect of preaching the Gospel. 'What,' said one of the chiefs, 'what are the missionaries coming to dwell with us for? They are come to break in two our clubs, to blunt the points of our spears, to draw the balls from our muskets, and to make this tribe and that tribe to love one another, and to sit as brothers and friends.'"

Precisely the same effect was produced in the case of the Kaffirs of South Africa. A Kaffir chief, of the name of Jan Tzatzoe, was examined before a Committee of the House of Commons on the state of the Aborigines, in August, 1836. During his examination the following questions were put to him:—"Did you, or any of the people of your tribe, take any part in the invasion of the colony?" No; I sat quiet. "When you saw your countrymen enter into hostilities against the colony, did you think it best to sit quiet?" Yes; I thought it best to sit quiet. "Will you mention the reason which induced you to refrain from taking part with your countrymen against the colony?" In the first place, I am a Christian, and the Word of God tells us not to fight, or to shed blood; that is the reason why I sat quiet.

There is another kind of evidence furnished from the same scene of missionary labor, derived from the deep distress of mind felt by the converted natives when they had been drawn or driven into acts of war. "At the commencement of the year 1830," says Mr. Yates, "Waiapu (a young man under their instruction), was enticed to Kororaneke, where he was engaged in the battle that took place between some of the neighboring tribes. He was spared in the midst of slaughter, and returned in safety, though covered with shame, to the mission, and to his home. Not many days elapsed after this, ere he was visited with strong and overwhelming convictions of conscience on account of his conduct in battle. His heart was smitten, and the

arrow of the Almighty stuck fast in him. They were, however, not the shafts of death as he thought them to be, but the forerunners of mercy; they drove him to the cross of Christ, where he found pardon for all his sins, and balm for the deepest wounds of his soul." Strange that this poor New Zealander should be thus distressed in reflecting on the murderous nature of the work in which he had been engaged as a warrior; while among ourselves men whose arms have been red with blood up to the elbow, are canonized as the most eminent saints of our day.

The Bishop of New Zealand writes thus in his journal:—"Examined candidates for confirmation and baptism; found the minds of the natives much unsettled by the late war. *Many held very conscientious scruples about renewing the public profession of Christianity*, and coming to the Lord's table, when they were liable at any moment to be called out to war. They quoted the words of the 37th Article (as translated in the Maori prayer-book) 'that it is lawful for Christian men at the command of the magistrate, to wear weapons and serve in the wars,' and of course feel it to be inconsistent with the state of peace described and required by the Gospel. Many stayed away in consequence."

But there is another species of evidence, if possible still more conclusive on this point; and that is, the impression which Christianity produces on the minds of those of the heathen who dislike and reject it. Fighting is the one grand pursuit and passion of uncivilized men, as it is also unhappily of so many professedly civilized men. It is that alone by which they can achieve power and distinction. When the Gospel, therefore, is first presented to them, they often repel it angrily on this very ground, that if they receive it they must of necessity and forever abandon that occupation. The strange idea that a man can slaughter his fellow-men to any extent, provided it be done "at the commandment of the magistrate," and yet abide in the love and peace of the Gospel, never occurs to them as a thing within the reach of possibility. That is a theory which has been invented and elaborated by ecclesiastical councils and doctors of divinity, for the convenience of those who like to combine the worship of Messiah and Moloch. But to the simple mind of the heathen the only alternative which presents itself is to reject the Gospel, or to renounce bloodshed and war. Rev. Robert Moffat, the celebrated African Missionary, father-in-law of Dr. Livingstone, gives a striking instance of this:—"I remember," he says, "an old, hoary-headed man, who after hearing me preach about the love of God, about the mercy of God, and how we ought to show mercy to one another, said, 'that was a bad instruction, ours was a bad religion.' He asked, 'how are we to live, if we are not to take revenge? If we are not to kill others, others will kill us.' He held out his fingers, and counted ten, to show me how many men he had killed since he was ten years of age." These are precisely the same questions which professedly Christian men still ask, when the same aspect of the Gospel is presented to them. But instead of honestly rejecting the Gospel, as this African chief did, they set themselves to construct ingenious arguments to prove that they can receive the Gospel *without* renouncing those deeds of the flesh, that they can "show mercy" and "kill and take revenge."

There is another testimony of a similar purport mentioned by Mr. Daniel Wheeler, a most estimable and devoted member of the Society of Friends, who visited New Zealand on a religious mission. "While mentioning war," he says, "(the darling passion of uncivilized men) I am reminded of a remark made by a New Zealand chief to one of our mission friends, who was conversing with him on the subject of a future world. The warrior expressed his disapprobation of the opinion which the missionary adduced of the life

to come, saying, 'If this be true, what is to become of the warrior? If there be no *pâs* to attack, he will have nothing to do.' How much more consistent are the present practice and the anticipated paradise of pagans, than the lives of the majority of Christians, and their professed expectations of a scriptural heaven! The warrior of New Zealand sees in a moment that his warlike tastes are incompatible with a world of peace and angelic blessedness, while his more enlightened antipodes lay claim to both."

There is one natural and perfectly pertinent question that may be asked us in the face of this representation. That is, if the heathen conceive of Christianity as we have described, how do we account for the fact, that *now* in the South Seas, in Kaffraria, and in New Zealand, the natives who have been under Christian instruction, and have even been baptized into the Christian faith, are found fighting as fiercely as the others? Well, the answer is a melancholy one enough. In some instances their missionary teachers have deliberately undertaken to un-teach the doctrine respecting war which their converts had learned from the New Testament, and to lower the fervor of their Christian convictions to the lukewarm temperature of European Christianity. And in all cases the *example* of European and American Christians has effectually dispelled the impressions of the spirit of the Gospel which these primitive races derived from the word "which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him."—*Herald of Peace*.

OUR EXAMPLE IN THE LATE REBELLION.—For the Old World, says the *Paris Temps*, "this unprecedented struggle is a spectacle rich in lessons at the same time formidable and consolatory. But the cost imposed on the United States to extirpate slavery displays the terrible justice of history, and shows by what fearful sacrifices nations expiate the prolonged tolerance of wrong. It also exhibits, by the incredible facility of those sacrifices, that abundance of material and moral resources of which no idea existed and, above all, shows, by the little loss of liberty they have involved, that liberty is not fatally destined to perish in the tempest of civil wars. On this point all European ideas, including our own, are completely bewildered. The reelection of Mr. Lincoln, and the manner in which it was accomplished, are the pledge of an indestructible liberty, and will remain in history as an imperishable pledge of political and moral greatness."

All very true; but why? Chiefly because all that our Government did in the case was simply to enforce law upon its violators. It was, in aim, spirit, or effect, not a war, but as much a process of justice, as is an effort to restrain a mob, or a gang of incendiaries or burglars. It brings its leaders to condign punishment. Such is the view we have all along had of this long, gigantic struggle; and hence we find it, with all the vast extent of its operations, leaving our liberties not essentially touched, and our military executors of law glad to return, just as soon as their work is done, to their old peaceful pursuits, with no thought of tolerating any disturbance of the old order of things.

ENGLAND AND FRANCE:

FIFTY YEARS OF PEACE BETWEEN THEM.

On the 18th of June, 1816, was fought the battle of Waterloo. On the night of that memorable midsummer Sabbath — for it is curious to observe how often War, as if in mockery, selects the day sacred to rest and Christian worship, on which to celebrate its great carnivals of crime — the curtain fell at last, amid the groans and agonies of ten thousands of men, upon the dismal drama of blood and misery, which Europe had been enacting for two-and-twenty years. Since then there have been fifty years of peace between England and France.

But before we turn to congratulate ourselves on this happy interval of rest, it may not be unprofitable to cast our eye backward over that dreary tract of time stretching from 1793 to 1816. No arithmetic can compute, no imagination can conceive the amount of suffering which Europe endured during those years. Still less would it be possible to estimate the moral damage it sustained, "It is, in my mind," said the great orator, O. J. Fox, "no small misfortune to live at a period when scenes of horror and blood are frequent. For one of the most evil consequences of war is, that it tends to render the hearts of mankind callous to the feelings and sentiments of humanity." Sir James Mackintosh, also, writing in 1808, dwells mournfully upon the detriment that had been done to the moral sentiments of mankind by that war. "Coarseness and barbarity," he says, "seem to be eagerly sought, in order to be as far as possible from the refinement and humanity which were fashionable before the French Revolution. Cruelty and perfidy are praised as vigor; the fall of governments is ascribed to their benevolence instead of their feebleness; the stability of tyranny is not imputed to the firmness and vigor which the tyrant too often has, but to his ferocity; the beneficence of individuals is laughed at as hypocritical and visionary; that of men in authority is condemned as a prelude to anarchy. Eloquence is rejected as the talent of demagogues; and all observations on the feelings which are the finer springs of action, especially if they be written or spoken with sensibility, are sneered at as sentiment." — *Life*, Vol. I. p. 440.

"To say that the temper of the times was warlike," says Miss Martineau, "gives no idea, to us who can scarcely remember war-times, of the spirit of violence, and the barbaric habits of thought and life, which then prevailed. Everything seems in the records to have suffered a war change. The gravest annalists, the most educated public men called the First Consul 'the Corsican Murderer,' and so forth, through the whole vocabulary of abuse. Nelson's first precept of professional morality was 'to hate a Frenchman as you would the devil.' Government rule took the form of coercion, popular discontent that of rebellion, and suffering that of riot. The passionate order of crime showed itself slaughterous; the mean kind exercised itself in population of naval and military provisions. Affliction took its character from the war. Tens of thousands of widows, and hundreds of thousands of orphans, were weeping or starving in the midst of society. The sufferings from bad seasons were aggravated by a taxation growing heavier every year, and money running shorter every day, all on account of the war. The very sports of the time took their character from the same class of influences. The world went to see reviews; there were illuminations for victories, and funerals of prodigious grandeur, when naval and military officers were to be buried in places of honor. There were presentations of jewelled swords; and, from the metropolitan theatre to the puppet-show, there were celebrations and representations of combats by sea or land. Prayers and thanksgivings in church and chapel — services utterly confounding to the moral

sense of a time which has leisure to see that Christianity is a religion of brotherly love — then met with a loud response, which had in it a hard tone of worldly passion; and from church and chapel the congregation took a walk to see the Sunday drill." — *History of the Peace*, pp. 22-3.

Statements of this kind, however, are too vague to produce much impression, except on a few refined and religious minds. But there are certain material facts to which none can be insensible, tending to show the prodigious havoc which that war committed on the being and well-being of humanity. England spent in money upon it no less a sum than £1,620,000,000 (\$8,000,000,000). Of this more than £600,000,000 was left as a permanent debt upon the nation. During the fifty years that have ensued, we have paid in mere interest, upon that part of our debt alone, much more than a *thousand millions of pounds sterling!* The effect of the war in restraining the development of commerce was, of course, beyond all computation. One little fact mentioned by Porter, in his "Progress of the Nation," is full of significance as bearing upon this. At the end of 1801 the Peace of Amiens was signed, and the value of British goods exported in 1802 exceeded by more than £5,000,000, or 13 per cent., the value exported in 1801. But the recurrence of the war in 1803 put an end to this improvement, and brought our exports below the amount of 1801. After adverting to the enormous sums squandered on the war, Mr. Porter says elsewhere, "While dwelling on these circumstances, it seems hardly possible to prevent the inquiry arising in the mind, What must have been the condition of England at this time, if the wars which caused this lavish, this unexampled expenditure, could have been avoided? A small part only of that expenditure would have sufficed to pay off the whole of the national burthens as they stood in 1793. We should then assuredly have heard nothing of the restrictions upon various branches of trade for which those burthens were made long the groundless pretext, and an amount of prosperity would have been experienced that must have had the happiest effects upon the physical and moral condition of England first, and through England upon that of the whole European community." — P. 602. It is estimated that 700,000 of our countrymen perished during the war; a much smaller number probably than was lost by any of the other great nations involved, as England fought mainly by its grants and subsidies.

But how fared it with France, the other principal combatant in this war of giants? We have not the same precise statistics here as we have in reference to our own country. But we know quite enough to be convinced that the calamity did not weigh less heavily — indeed in many respects it weighed much more heavily — upon our great antagonist. M. Victor Hugo says, "From 1701 to 1816, France alone, striving against Europe, coalesced by England, expended in butcheries for military glory, let us also add for the defence of territory, five millions of men; that is to say, six hundred men per day!" He adds, "Europe, including this total of France, expended sixteen millions six hundred thousand men. With these seventeen millions of dead men, they might have peopled Australia with Europeans." How much of suffering this must have entailed upon that great country may be imagined.

Indeed, there is no other way, but by imagination, of getting at the reality; for during the whole of that time the voice of France was stifled, so that its groans could not be heard. Once only, during a brief interval of freedom, after the fall of Napoleon in 1814, and before the return of the Bourbons, a cry of agony and resentment escaped from the national heart, which testified eloquently of the extent and intensity of its sufferings through those terrible years. We refer to the proclamation issued by the Municipal

Council of Paris, after the entrance of the allied armies into that city. It is in the form of a bitter indictment against Napoleon, which was only thus far unfair, that it ascribed all the misery of the time to his personal ambition; whereas France itself had in fact, no less than its ruler, become drunk and delirious with military glory. "It is lie," said this document, "who has shut us out from the seas of both worlds, who has dried up the sources of national industry, torn the husbandman from our fields, and the workman from our manufactories. Why are we told of his past victories? What good have those fatal victories done us? The hatred of nations, the tears of our families, the forced celibacy of our daughters, the ruin of all fortunes, the premature widowhood of our women, the despair of fathers and mothers, to whom, out of a numerous posterity, there no longer remains a filial hand to close their eyes. Behold the fruit of his boasted victories!"

Not must it be forgotten, that the evils we have thus most imperfectly sketched as regards England and France, were poured without stint over the whole face of Europe, most of its countries suffering even more, in many respects, as the war actually raged in their territories.

It is, surely, not unnatural to inquire what were the causes which led to so appalling a struggle, what were its objects, and how far they were attained; for the sake of which it was thought right to persevere with it until the world was soaked in blood for nearly a quarter of a century. On these points it is very difficult to secure an honest judgment. It is not in human nature to admit that what has cost it so dear was not worth the purchase. We cannot expect, therefore, while the actors in the fearful scene we have described survive, any acknowledgment from them that the causes were trivial, and the results were abortive.

It is obvious, however, that as those days recede into the past, and the prejudices and passions which led to and accompanied the conflict subside, the number who dispute the wisdom and necessity of the war is continually on the increase; and, even where that conclusion has not been fully reached, most men must feel, when calmly looking at the matter from even the distance of time, that the reasons assigned in justification of the hostilities with France are of very slender texture indeed to bear all the weight of the tremendous consequences that ensued. We are speaking now of those reasons which decided the conduct of England; for very few men, we presume, will now be found, in this country at least, who doubt that the coalition of European despots which precipitated itself on France, while in the agony of its internal regeneration, and which beyond all question was the cause of the unfortunate king's death, and of the atrocities that are known as "the horrors of the French Revolution," as well as of the aggressive aspect it assumed towards Europe, was an utterly wicked and wanton invasion of the rights of an independent nation. "No doubt," says Alison, "can now exist that the interference of the allies augmented the horrors, and added to the duration of the Revolution. All its bloodiest excesses were committed during or after an alarming but unsuccessful invasion by the allied forces. The massacres of September 2d were perpetrated when the public mind was excited to the highest degree by the approach of the Duke of Brunswick; and the worst days of the government of Robespierre, were immediately after the defection of Dumourier. The peril of France alone could have induced the people to submit to the sanguinary rule which so long desolated its plains."

But what was it that led England to take part in the strife? Apart from the distasteful character of the political opinions in vogue in France at the time of the Revolution, the only colorable pretexts in fact upon which the British Government grounded its scornful rejection of all the friendly over-

tures made to them by the National Convention, and prepared for war, consisted of just two: First, the "Decree of Fraternity," as it was called, passed by the Convention in November, 1792, in which it declared, "in the name of the French nation, that it would grant fraternity and assistance to all people who wish to recover their liberty." Secondly, the opening of the Scheldt in violation of what was then deemed the exclusive right of the Dutch to the navigation of that river. These two points, it must be admitted, even if nothing could be said to explain or extenuate the conduct of the French in reference to them, appear uncommonly diminutive when we look back upon them across those twenty-three years of desolation and blood which they procured for us and for Europe. But in truth there was much to say, and was said at the time, to extenuate the obnoxious character of those acts. The decree of November was most evidently not directed against England at all, but against those Powers who, without the smallest provocation, had meditated the dismemberment of France, and the "giving up," as the manifesto of the Duke of Brunswick expressed it, "the City of Paris to military execution, and exposing it to total destruction." Nothing could be stronger than the language in which the French authorities disclaimed any offensive meaning towards this country as intended by the decree. And, as respects the navigation of the Scheldt, the Dutch themselves made no complaint, nor invoked our intervention in the matter; and, as has been strikingly observed, "if that was really one of the objects of the war, the twenty-two years of hostilities might have been spared; for, if there was any one thing besides the abolition of the slave-trade, which the Congress of Vienna effected at the close of the war, to the satisfaction of all parties, and with the hearty concurrence of England, it was setting free the navigation of the great rivers of Europe."

Let us now turn to inquire for a moment how far the objects, for which such a prodigious expenditure of blood and money was made, were attained. What were those objects? In the early part of the war they were two: First, to prevent France from invading other countries with her arms, and with her dangerous principles. Secondly, to defend Holland especially, and her right to the exclusive navigation of the Scheldt. Well, how were these objects attained? As regards the first, so far from restricting France within her own boundaries, the war led to her overrunning all Europe with her arms and with her principles too. During the next twenty years her victorious legions occupied every capital on the continent, and brought almost every king as a suppliant to the feet of France. And as for the pretext about Holland and her Scheldt, it ended not only in opening that river by the general consent of Europe, but in England, during the course of the war, seizing all the principal colonies of her *protégé*, some of which she retains to the present day.

No doubt, towards the latter part of the war, the object came to be to defeat Napoleon, whom the war had called forth and educated, and to dispossess him and his family forever of all share in the government of France. And this object really appeared for a time to have been accomplished. Napoleon was defeated and overthrown. The Powers who were parties to the treaty of Vienna bound themselves solemnly, in the name of the Holy Trinity, to prevent forever any member of the Bonaparte family from sitting on the throne of France. But behold a member of that family, not only sitting on the throne of France, but acknowledged by every one of those Powers as "our royal cousin" or ally!

But, no less completely did France miss her objects, for war is the only game in which all the players lose and none win. What may we say were her objects? If she had been let alone in the crisis of the Revolution, the

probability is, that she would have accomplished her destiny without troubling any other people, and have gradually emerged as other nations have done, and as she has done since, from temporary anarchy into some form of established government. But after she had succeeded in hurling back the invaders from the frontiers, then, no doubt, ambitious thoughts took possession of her heart. But her ambition was at first, we believe, of no ungenerous character. It was a wild, romantic dream of rescuing other countries from political oppression and of propagating liberty by the sword; — very much, in fact, like that which yet bubbles in the brains of some of our own Radical sympathizers, who would have England fling her gauntlet of defiance at the head of half the monarchs of the continent, and advance her oriflamme throughout Europe on behalf of what are called the oppressed nationalities. Even Napoleon, when he began his career, called himself “the armed apostle of democracy.” With him this was probably nothing but a name. But there can be no doubt that the French republicans were sincere enough in the visions they cherished of abating the power of tyrants, and promoting the cause of popular liberty. But how did that object prosper? The answer may be found in the arrangement of Europe made by the treaty of Vienna, which has been truly described by one of our historians as “the completest restoration of despotism conceivable; and the most monstrous wrong ever perpetrated by a conspiracy of rulers upon their subjects. There was not a popular interest consulted, not a promise redeemed, not a race liberated, in this famous settlement.”

But in process of time, as her destinies fell under the guidance of the great soldier, whose meteoric genius at once dazzled and blasted the world, France came to have another object. She began to sympathize with *his* aims, to be enamored of conquest and military glory for their own sakes, and to look with complacency on the prospect of having Europe prostrate at her feet. And how did that end? In the most complete humiliation that any people ever suffered. When the citizens of Paris saw 250,000 foreign troops marching into their beautiful capital with drums beating and colors flying; when they saw Austrian and Prussian regiments tramping in triumph along the Boulevards; when they saw the half-barbarian Cossacks of Tartary encamping in the Champs Elysées; when they saw their own government bending with obsequious homage before the Emperor of Russia; when they saw an army of occupation, 150,000 strong, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, garrisoning her fortresses, and maintained at her expense for five years; when they saw the future destinies of their country decided by the dictation of foreign despots, while the whole country looked on in impotent stupor and indignation, they must have felt how futile had turned out their dream of universal dominion. Thus we find everywhere that the issue of that colossal struggle was abortion, disappointment, and despair. — *Herald of Peace.*

The remainder of the article, detailing the victories of peace for fifty years, will be given in our next number.

FINAL PRICES IN RICHMOND. — A few weeks before its fall, the people of Richmond were compelled to pay dear enough for the necessaries of life. “Last week,” says one on the spot, “I paid \$350 a dozen for eggs; before Sheridan tore up the canal, I got them for twelve. I paid six dollars a pound for flour last Friday, and thirty-five for brown sugar. Tea is \$100 a pound, coffee \$49.50, bacon \$18, and beef \$15.” Such is the result of a rebellion that promised at the start to give the South a vast and permanent increase of prosperity, wealth and happiness.

THE TWO SOUTHERN MOTHERS.

HEARD you not the din of battle,
 Cannon's roar and musket's rattle,
 Clash of sword and shriek of shell,
 Victor's shout and vanquished's yell?
 Saw ye in yon scene of slaughter,
 Human blood poured out like water?
 Northern valor, Southern pride,
 Stern resolve on either side!

Cheering on his flagging men,
 Rallying to the charge again,
 Comes a bullet charged with grief,
 Strikes the brave Confederate chief.
 Down he falls amid the strife,
 Horses trampling out his life;
 Scarce can his retreating force
 Find and save his mangled corse.
 Home they bear him to his mother;
 He was all she had, none other;
 Woful mother! who can borrow
 Words to paint her frantic sorrow?

As she mourned her slaughtered brave,
 Came and spake her aged slave;
 Came and spake with solemn brow:
 "Missus, we are even now!
 I had ten, and you had one.
 Now we're even, all are gone;
 Not one left to bury either;
 Slave and mistress mourn together,
 Every one of mine you sold;
 Now your own lies stark and cold!
 To the just Avenger bow;
 Missus! I forgive you now."

Thus she spake, that sable mother;
 Shuddered, quailed, and crouched the other.
 Yes! although it tarry long,
 Payment will be made for wrong.

POPULAR ACCUMULATIONS IN THE WAR. — It is a curious fact, quite unusual in war, that so many of our ordinary people have been laying up money during all the late terrible conflict. Gov. Andrew, the popular Governor of Massachusetts, said in his last annual message, after reporting the State debt in 1861 as \$8,103,039, and \$14,874,935 as added during the war, that the *increase* of the deposits in the saving-banks alone for 1864 over those of 1860, would pay the entire debt of the State, and still leave a surplus of more than \$8,000,000. Such a result is a marvel for which it is difficult to account.

WAR AND LIBERTY. — Americans little know how far the war-system tramples on popular rights and interests. This system, as the basis and guarantee of nearly, if not quite, every government on the continent of Europe, is made paramount there to every interest, and uses the people only as so many tools for the accomplishment of its purposes. No citizen can be excused from military service at just the time of life most essential to his permanent welfare; nor can he leave his country at pleasure, or return to it without peril to his dearest interests.

A case of this sort has recently occurred in Germany. "Henry Schonfield, a native of Hesse Cassel, who emigrated to the United States when fifteen years of age, having a leave of absence of two years from his government. He remained in this country 21 years, became a naturalized citizen, and did military duty during the late war. On going back to his native country a short time ago, he was arrested, thrown into prison, and property worth about 2,000 florins taken from him. Bail was refused for ten days, at the expiration of which time it was accepted to the amount of 1,500 florins. The charge against him was that he had absented himself from military duty. The American Consul General had no authority to demand the release of Schonfield, but could only ask it. The answer was from the first anticipated, as several other such cases had come to the knowledge of the same Consul General, that Schonfield owed military duty to their government, and they could see no reason why he should be released! Afterwards Mr. Schonfield was notified that his name had been placed upon the roll of the Royal Body Guard. He was selected for this service on account of his height and good proportions. He must suffer six months' imprisonment, and then serve two years in the Royal Body Guard, or forfeit his bail of 1,500 florins, and his watch, etc., worth 1,000 florins more, making a total of 2,500 florins. Schonfield says he has once taken the oath of allegiance to the United States, and served under the stars and stripes in our late contest, and he will never subscribe to any other oath. This is only one case out of many."

It is thus the war-system, the world over, rudely interferes with the personal rights and interests of the citizen. He is treated as nothing, and the government as everything, with rights paramount to those of the people, and often hostile to their interests. The idea, lying at the base of all popular liberty, that government is, or ought to be, merely an instrument for guarding and promoting the general welfare of the whole people, is practically discarded wherever the war-system prevails in its full vigor. The whole system is fatal to real liberty.

WASTE OF REBEL TROOPS. — I heard, says Chaplain Gonsalves, an old planter who had lost three sons in the rebel army, say, that "of the 40,000 troops raised in Louisiana to fight against the Old Flag, and save our negroes, not more than 5,000 are living to-day! What great fools we have been, to sacrifice our own sons, our flesh and blood, to save our negroes, and now both sons and negroes are gone to the devil. What fools, what cursed fools!" The poor old planter shook and trembled as he spoke.

MORTALITY IN WAR.—*Comparison between Old Soldiers and Raw Recruits.*—The process of hardening men for military service makes terrible havoc of human life: A late letter of Marshal Randon to Napoleon states the following results:—

Term of service.	Deaths per 1,000.
Less than one year,	11.45
From 1 to 3,	13.88
“ 3 to 5,	9.30
“ 5 to 7,	7.40
“ 7 to 14,	5.35
Above 14 years' service the average is	7.11

Our own experience is still worse. According to Mr. Elliott of the Sanitary Commission, we lose the first year seventy-two in a thousand—twenty by death or wounds in battle, and fifty-two by disease; nearly thrice as many by sickness, hardship and exposure, as by cannon and the sword.

WASTE OF LIFE IN WAR.—*Our Losses in 1864.*—“The records of the War Department show that the casualties in the campaign of the army of the Potomac under Gen. Grant, from May 5, 1864, to Nov. 1, 1864, were as follows: Killed, 796 officers, 9,796 men; wounded, 2,796 officers, 51,161 men; missing, 775 officers, 23,083 men; total, 88,387. In Sherman's army, from the time it moved on Dalton till after the capture of Atlanta, the losses were as follows: Killed, 5,284, wounded, 26,129, missing, 5,786; total, 37,199. Against a total missing of 23,000, the Army of the Potomac has a set-off of 15,370 prisoners captured from the enemy. Of guns, the same army lost 25, and captured 32.”

We find that little confidence can be put in the accuracy of accounts respecting the loss of life in war. They seldom, if ever, reach much more than half the actual loss, and often fall far below even this proportion. We have shuddered with horror at the numbers reported as killed, wounded or missing; but we shall never know or adequately conceive the sum-total of the victims in this sad and terrible conflict.

HABITS CREATED IN WAR.—During the passage of soldiers through Cairo, Ill., (February, 1865,) parties of soldiers made a raid into the town, and helped themselves to everything they could lay their hands on in stores, shops, saloons, and the like. Great consternation seized the citizens, all such places were closed, and a guard in the streets routed. An occurrence, we believe, not very strange, nor very unusual. We heard of them from all quarters. Some of Gen. Sherman's troops while at Beaufort, S. C., seemed to have little scruple in appropriating whatever they wanted, and went so far as to use up for fuel in cooking, not only fences, but houses, and even the materials sent from the North to build a church! Such habits are well-nigh inseparable from war in any form; and yet how many, and among them ministers of the Gospel, talk large about the good moral influence coming from the rebellion!

UNION COMMANDERS.—There has been, if there is not still, a general impression, that scarce any of the prominent officers in our army or navy adhered to the national flag. It is quite a mistake; for some of our ablest commanders were from the South. Mr. Helper, author of the *Impending Crisis*, enumerates the following examples:—

Virginia—Thomas, Terrell, Cooke, Reno, Prentiss, Newton, Davidson, Stevenson, Denver, Ammen, Hays, Graham—12.

Maryland—Ord, Cooper, Benton, Emory, French, Kenley, Vandever, Sykes, Judah, Lanman—10.

Delaware—Lockwood, Torbett, Thomas—3.

Kentucky—Canby, Anderson, Rosseau, Reynolds, Nelson, Hobson, Harrow, Oglesby, Blair, Boyle, Crittenden, McClelland, McMillan, Clay, Clay Smith, Morris, Palmer, Pope, Burbridge, Fry, Shackelford, Gorinan, Johnson, Jackson, Wood, Ward, and two Bufords—28.

Tennessee—Carter, Harney, Campbell, Abercrombie, Spears—5.

District of Columbia—Hunter, Orme, Pleasanton, Brannan, Getty—5.

Alabama—Two Birneys and one Crittenden—3.

North Carolina—Meredith and Johnson—2.

South Carolina—Hurlbut and Fremont—2.

Missouri, Reno; *Louisiana*, West; and *Georgia*, Meigs.

Here we have a list of seventy-three Southern generals of land forces. If we turn to the navy, we shall find from the South four names at least which will be famous in history so long as floating batteries or men-of-war shall be found upon the water. Farragut of Tennessee, Porter of Louisiana, Goldsborough of the District of Columbia, and Winslow of North Carolina, who captured the pirate Alabama.

WAGES—WHAT IS PAID IN EUROPE FOR COMMON LABOR.—In England and Ireland 37 cents a day, the laborer boarding himself; in most parts of Ireland, only 25 cents, and this only a part of the time. In Belgium the average is about 30 cents; in Bonn on the Rhine, about 20 cents; in Weisbaden from 30 to 35; at Gosburg near by, 24; in and around Heidelberg, 30 to 35; in Cassel, 37. In some places females are paid 18 cents, finding themselves as laborers generally do. All these prices are for the season of harvest, when prices are highest.

What a contrast to prices in this country! On an average of scarce one third or one fourth of what was given here before the rebellion, or one sixth or eighth of what is now paid. No wonder there is such a number of emigrants from the Old World. What a refuge must our country be to those ill-paid laboring millions, always living on the brink of want, if not of starvation! God forbid that slavery and war shall ever succeed in turning this refuge into another prison-house or Botany Bay of labor.

INCIDENT FROM THE WAR.—In a Chicago street car, the other day, a pale but pretty young woman gave up her seat to a one-legged soldier, and she graciously acted to the recognition of the man as her husband, long mourned as dead. The scene closes with each in the other's arms.

BRITISH STATESMEN ON QUESTIONS OF PEACE.—Is not the time come when powerful countries should reduce those military armaments which they have so sedulously raised? What is the advantage of one power greatly increasing its army and navy? Does it not see that if it possesses such increase for self-protection and defence, the others will follow its example? The true interest of Europe is to come to some common accord, so as to enable every country to reduce those military armaments which belong to a state of war rather than of peace. — *Sir Robert Peel in 1841.*

I believe that no greater benefit could be conferred on the human race than the consent of all the Great Powers of Europe to maintain their relative position towards each other, and to reduce their respective forces. — *Sir Robert Peel in 1851.*

Let us terminate this disastrous system of wild expenditure by mutually agreeing, to the reduction of armaments, with no hypocrisy, but in a manner and under circumstances that will admit of no doubt, that peace is our policy. — *Mr. Disraeli in 1859.*

Mr. Cobden brought forward a motion in the House of Commons in 1851 for "preventing in future that rivalry of warlike preparations, in time of peace, between England and France, which has hitherto been the policy of the two governments, and to promote, if possible, a mutual reduction of armaments."

PEACE AND ELECTIONS.—A new House of Commons has been elected; and the following extract will show how appropriately the friends of peace used the occasion in catechizing candidates:—

"As there are questions of considerable difficulty and importance pending between our own Government and that of the United States, will you, in case those matters cannot be settled by ordinary diplomatic negotiation, support their being referred to a friendly arbitration, in accordance with the recommendation of the representatives of the Great Powers at the Congress of Paris in 1856? And, should any difficulty arise between us and any other country, will you support the same policy of arbitration instead of war?"

"As the armaments of all the nations are absorbing yearly an immense proportion of the earnings of the people, and must go on increasing more and more in cost, if the present system of rivalry in armed preparation continues, will you sustain an arrangement, such as has been advocated by Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Cobden, and other eminent public men, for entering into negotiations with other governments for a mutual and simultaneous reduction of those armaments?"

"Should disputes unhappily arise between any of the governments of Europe or America, or between any of those governments and their own subjects, will you support a policy of strict neutrality and non-intervention on the part of this country, as respects all such quarrels?"

JEWS IN OUR REBELLION.—They have as a body shown a full share of patriotism. From Ohio, 12,000 have gone to fight for the Union flag; from New York, 10,000; from Illinois, 5,000; from Michigan and Wisconsin, 3,000; and from other States enough to make a total of 40,000. They have, also, given of their wealth for the soldiers. They have established five asylums for disabled soldiers, their widows and orphans, the benefits of which are limited to no faith or creed—one at New York, one at Philadelphia, one at Cincinnati, one at Chicago, and one at St. Louis.

FEELINGS IN BATTLE.

PEOPLE often wonder how one feels in battle. All men are not affected alike. Some are cool, determined, and courageous; some lose all judgment, and will, single-handed, rush upon hundreds; others are entirely unmanned, tremble like aspens, seem dead to every emotion of honor or feeling of shame, and will sink into covert, or run from the field. Lord North in the Crimean war is an instance. If skirmishers engage prior to a general battle, and a desultory firing is kept up for a while, one becomes used to it, and, as the battle warms, it frequently becomes exciting, and men that trembled at the first few shots, now rush on like heroes.

I remember well my feelings during the first battle in which I was engaged. The night before, we received orders to prepare to attack the enemy early on the morrow. All was now bustle, hurry, and anxiety. Guns were cleaned, ammunition inspected, straps adjusted, canteens filled, knapsacks lightened, letters written. We had several in our company who had always boasted of their bravery and prowess, men who had been "spoiling for a fight," as they said. These were now as still as mice; they didn't peep. One of them, who had taken a master's degree in all kinds of profanity, now borrowed a Bible, sat down and read it for some time, and intimated to his messmate the propriety of praying before going to sleep that night. It is not your blustering, profane bravado that is the brave man on the field of battle; it is your quiet, patient, retiring man.

I confess a feeling of dread and anxiety stole over me. Battle was certain, the enemy was strongly posted, and we had desperate work before us. I wanted to go into battle; yet I dreaded it like death. I slept but little that night. The morning came, and our columns moved quietly and sternly forward through a wood. The first intimation we had of the enemy, was the skirmishing between his outposts and our vanguard, the former falling back as the latter advanced. We passed out of the wood, and rapidly deployed into line of battle, a gentle sloping hill hiding the enemy from our view. A part of our force had been sent around to make a flank and rear attack on the enemy; and, while so doing, it was of the utmost importance that we should hold his attention in front. We marched steadily up the hill till the whole line of the enemy burst upon our view; there we halted, and for some minutes not a gun was fired on either side. There stood the two armies, each waiting for the other to begin the work of death. The faces of our men looked pale and determined; some of them stood like statues, others were nervous and uneasy. It was the time to test their courage. A line of cannon was bearing directly upon us. Death to many of us was certain. Who will it be? thought I. A singular feeling came over me; a confused image of a mother and sister appeared flitting and floating before my imagination like dissolving shadows, while the tremendous reality in front oppressed me with dreadful forebodings.

A few moments passed, like those that intervene between drawing the cap over the criminal's face, and letting fall the drop, when a puff of smoke from one of the cannon, followed by a crash, and a bomb, went screaming over us. Our men ducked down their heads like geese. Fire was now opened on us along the enemy's entire line. Their first shots were aimed too high. They gradually lowered them. Every discharge brought their balls fearfully nearer. We were impatient to return the fire, but dare not till the command was given. Our colonel passed along in front of the line, and urged us to stand firm till the proper time, and the day would be ours. It is a task to hold men exposed to an enemy's fire without allowing them to return it. They will soon run, one way or the other. The enemy's shot now began to howl around us, plough through our ranks, and tear up the earth

about our feet. A six pound ball cut off the bayonet of my messmate on my left; a moment more, and one struck him in the breast, severing him almost in twain. He reeled and fell like a log. The hot blood from his heart spirted full in my face. Great God, how I felt! A faint, sickening sensation came over me. I stooped down over him. He smiled faintly, spoke my name, gasped, and expired. He was frightfully mangled. I was maddened to desperation. All thought of fear vanished; I could have fought thousands. The command "Fire!" rang along the line, and a tremendous crash of musketry answered the command. We now loaded and fired for life. Dense volumes of sulphurous smoke hung like a pall over us and shut out the enemy from our sight. The battle grew warm and bloody. The rattle of musketry, the screaming of shells, the thunders of the artillery, the whistling of bullets, the shouts of command, commingled with curses, prayers, and groans of the wounded and dying, filled all the air. Our men, black with smoke and powder, looked like devils incarnate, as they plied their work of death.

At length a breeze rolled away the smoke that shrouded us, and disclosed our other columns bearing down upon the enemy's flank. Now was the decisive moment. "Charge bayonets!" rang out; and with loud shouts, we rushed forward to the assault. A storm of grape and canister was hurled against us as we neared the batteries. Like maddened tigers, our men leaped forward with the cold steel. The struggle over the guns was desperate. It was a butchery savage in the extreme. The enemy soon broke and fled, leaving us masters of the field. Since that time I have not felt the least dread or hesitation on entering a battle. After the first few shots, I fire away as coolly as when hunting squirrels. — *Louisville Journal*.

THE OIL BUSINESS — Has reached a marvellous extent. The *Oil News and Mining Journal* gives the following estimate as in the main accurate: —

	Companies.	Total capital.
Pennsylvania,.....	889	\$373,534,000
Ohio,.....	191	50,000,000
New York,.....	236	126,000,000
Massachusetts,.....	25	9,300,000
Maryland,.....	8	2,750,000
Illinois,.....	24	5,500,000
Kentucky,.....	16	2,700,000
Indiana,.....	10	3,000,000
Missouri,.....	23	6,700,000
Wisconsin,.....	10	2,600,000
Michigan,.....	14	2,950,000
West Virginia,.....	11	1,960,000
Total,	1,457	\$869,594,000

Almost every State, East and West, has a few companies, swelling the sum-total to \$878,564,000. All this grown up chiefly in three or four years, the nominal amount of capital now reaching probably \$1,000,000,000!

RELATIVE DECAY OF THE SEXES.—Decay of the male sex is much more rapid than the female. In three years ending June 30, 1840, the total number of deaths among males, throughout England and Wales, was 518,006, while the deaths among females were only 499,058; an excess of male deaths in three years of 18,048. It cannot appear surprising, then, that the number of females in any country should notably exceed the number of males. In London there are 996,600 females to 878,000 males, an excess of 119,000. Coupled with this fact, and obviously depending on it, is the superior longevity of the female sex. There died throughout England and Wales, between 1st July, 1839, and 30th June, 1840, 5,247 females, aged eighty-five and upwards; whereas, of the same age there died only 3,954 gentlemen, leaving a "balance" in favor of the old ladies of 1,293. Among the females who died, seventy-one had passed the age of one hundred, but only forty males. There are only three diseases common to sexes, which carry off more females than males,—consumption, cancer, and dropsy. The deaths by childbirth form but a very small fraction of the mortality of the female sex. The proportion is only eight per one thousand of the total mortality; and as half a million children are annually born in England and Wales, and scarcely 3,000 deaths take place in childbirth, so there is only one death to one hundred and seventy confinements.—*English Paper.*

THE PERIODICAL BUSINESS.—Few conceive the extent to which the circulation of newspapers and other periodicals is carried on in this country. There is in the city of New York a single company that sold in eleven months of 1864 no less than \$2,226,372 worth of such publications, an average of nearly \$200,000 every month. Its employees are supposed to have handled 40,000,000 papers; and for wrapping paper and twine alone \$13,000 were paid.

Such facts indicate an amount of mental activity and general thrift unparalleled in the world's history. What is to be the result,—a blessing or a curse? Here is a mighty power for good or for evil. In the hands of such men as Paul or Howard, how widely would it bless mankind; but if wielded for selfish, guilty ends by such men as Alexander or Cæsar, Tamerlane or Napoleon, what a world of irreparable mischief would it work. The former is peace, the latter is war; as wide apart as the poles, well-nigh as heaven and hell.

BRITISH SENTIMENT AND SYMPATHY.—The friends of peace and of the true prosperity of our country will feel the importance of cherishing mutual forbearance, good-will and Christian sympathy between the people of the United States and those of Great Britain. The slaveholder's rebellion has been the occasion of some irritation on the part of both governments, and of far more amongst many in this country towards certain classes of the British people who have given countenance and support

to the rebels. Earnest efforts should, therefore, be made both to prevent misunderstandings, and to remove every desire to retaliate. Much may be done by the public papers, and even in private correspondence a healing influence can be exercised. An English Friend, who has travelled extensively in this country, in writing recently to one of our Friends, expressed the following sentiments:—

“Three years ago I ventured to state my reverent belief that the Almighty had taken the cause of your slave population into his own hands. For the crime of slavery he has undoubtedly poured out his judgments on the nation. Sincerely do I hope that you may not be shivered to pieces. I long to believe that the charge is going, or perhaps has gone, forth to the destroying angel, as in the days of David, ‘It is enough; stay now thine hand.’ The people of England are greatly divided as to their wishes and fears on this terrible war of yours. Our aristocrats and very wealthy men, generally speaking, would rejoice to see your Union destroyed, and care nothing about slavery, one way or the other. The working classes, and those somewhat above them, are on the side of Union and Emancipation, and any attempt to convene a general public meeting to condemn the North in its efforts to suppress the rebellion would prove a miserable failure. Our government would not dare to acknowledge the ‘Confederate States’ as an independent republic, whatever its wishes might be.” — *Friends’ Review*.

HOW MUCH IT COSTS TO COLLECT OUR NATIONAL TAX.—The expenses of assessing the income tax for the last fiscal year in Massachusetts were: Salaries, \$36,940 91; clerk hire, \$21,610 46; stationery, \$1,050 09; printing and advertising, \$1,908 82; postage and express, \$1,116 20; rent, \$3,150 79 — \$64,009 96. The total expenses in some of the other States were: Maine, \$18,665 97; New Hampshire, \$9,122 43; Vermont, \$5,982 41; Rhode Island, \$12,104 61; Connecticut, \$19,934 05; New York, \$163,317 35; Pennsylvania, \$100,187 92.

INCREASE OF BRITISH EXPENSES.—If we take the period extending from 1855 to 1865, we shall find that the sum drawn by taxation from the capital and industry of the nation amounts to no less than £789,612,936, showing an average annual expenditure of £71,692,035. Compared with the preceding decade, from 1844 to 1854, though that included two years of partly exceptional expenditure, owing to the Russian war, it shows an average annual increase of more than £15,000,000.

And how has this prodigious sum of nearly eight hundred millions in eleven years been spent? Why thus: In paying the interest of our war debt, £301,618,920; army and navy, £331,887,258; all the expenses of civil government, £186,472,935; cost of collection, £48,733,823. So that out of the total of £789,612,936, spent in eleven years, £633,506,178 has gone for war purposes, and a good deal more, indeed, for by far the largest proportion of the cost of collection must be carried to the same account. Of this sum, as will be seen, upwards of 331 millions have been spent, and that during the time of peace, upon our naval and military establishments, an expenditure for which no parallel can be found in the history of the world. — *London Star*.

GEN. GRANT'S CAPTURES. — During our rebellion there were very few decisive victories on either side. We can now recollect scarce any, except the following four by Gen. Grant : —

“The first was Gen. Buckner's surrender at Fort Donelson, on the 16th day of February, 1862. Here Grant captured over 13,000 prisoners, 3,000 horses, nearly 20,000 stand of arms, 48 field pieces, 17 heavy guns, and a great quantity of ordnance and commissary stores. — The second was that of Gen. Pemberton at Vicksburg, 4th of July, 1863. There Grant captured 20 general officers, more than 4,000 other officers, 23,000 effective men and about 6,000 in hospitals ; a total of some 34,000 men. Of guns, he captured at Vicksburg 128 pieces of field artillery and 90 siege guns, besides 83 fields pieces in the battles outside of Vicksburg ; a total of 301 guns. Of small arms, he captured 10,000 in the previous battles, and 35,000 on the surrender ; a total of 45,000. The enemy had lost in the previous battles three general officers and at least 10,000 killed and wounded, and arms and munitions of war for an army of 60,000 men. The fall of Port Hudson was a direct corollary from that of Vicksburg. To the spoils of Vicksburg we must, therefore, add, from Port Hudson, 5,500 prisoners, 20 heavy guns, 31 field-pieces, 44,800 pounds of powder, 150,000 rounds of small-arm ammunition, 5,000 stand of arms, two steamers, and considerable ordnance and stores. — The third was the surrender by Lee of the entire ‘Army of Northern Virginia,’ 9th April, 1865. 26,000 paroled prisoners, 16,000 stand of small arms, 160 cannon, 70 flags, 1,000 wagons, ambulances and caissons, and 3,000 or 4,000 horses and mules, are the approximate figures of the immediate results of that surrender. But several thousand prisoners were supposed to have gone without parole for want of rations. An army of 60,000 men was, in ten days, all destroyed, killed, wounded, surrendered or forever dispersed. — The fourth surrender was that of Johnston, on the 26th day of April, 1865. Over 25,000 prisoners and over 90 guns were the partial fruits of this fourth and last surrender.”

Each of these achievements is supposed to bind an additional wreath around the warrior's brow ; but how little does the multitude pause to consider what a vast amount of crime and suffering is included in a single one of these victories ! How much guilt, mischief and misery does it take to make what the world calls a hero ! There are few warriors less exceptionable than Grant ; and yet how many thorns of regret and horror must he bear to his grave, and to the bar of God ! What a burden of bitter and terrible memories must the best warrior carry in his bosom through life ! God will assuredly hold somebody to account for every life sacrificed in war. Who shall meet that account ?

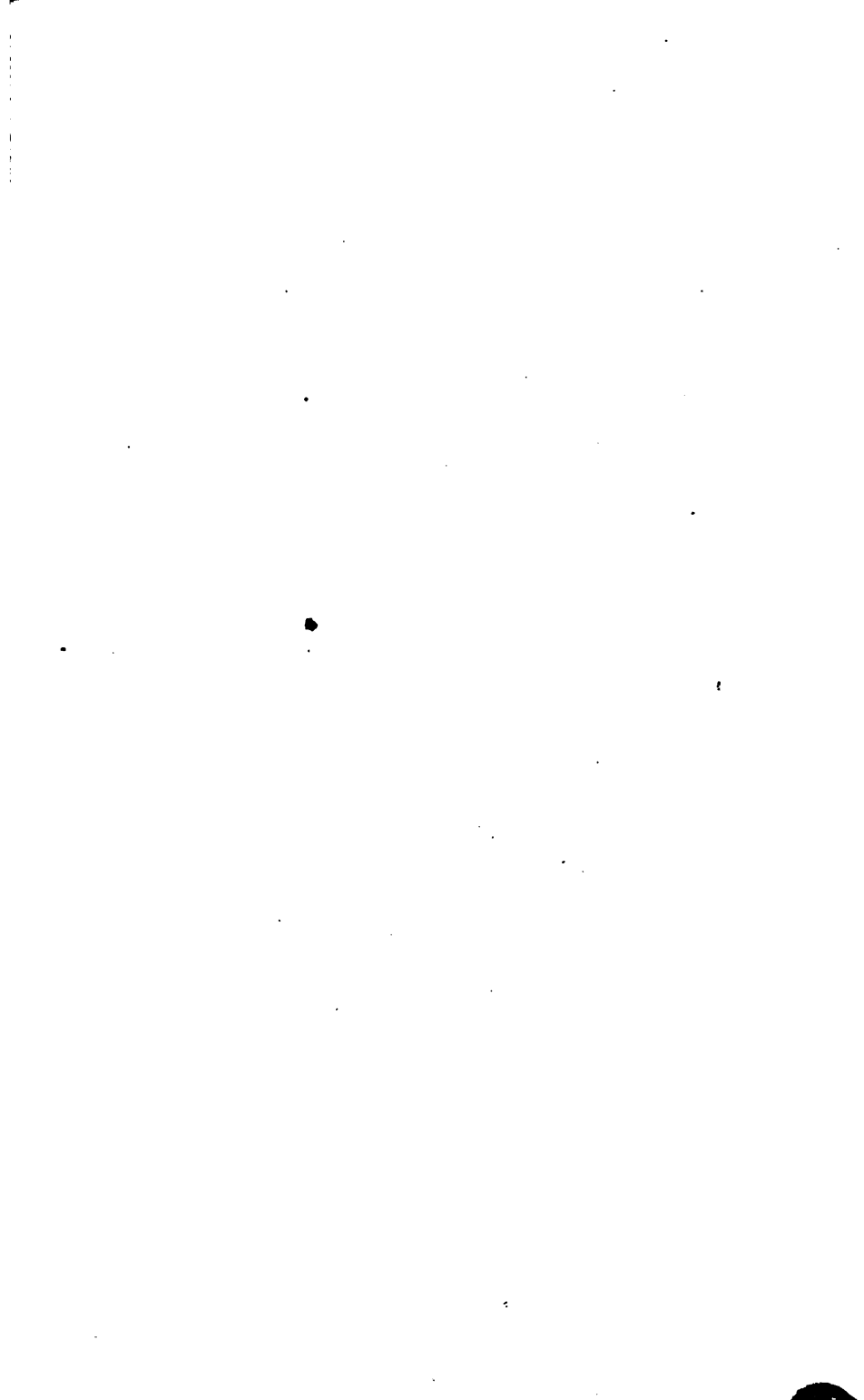
MILITARY LEGISLATORS. — *House of Commons.* — The number of members of the present (late) House of Commons, who are more or less directly interested in a large war expenditure, is 252, in addition to 75 who by family alliances have proclivities lying in the same direction. Of these, a few are on what is termed the “retired” list. On a careful examination, I find the number ranged thus : 77 captains, 65 lieutenant-colonels, 26 ma-


jorn, 22 colonels, 22 lieutenant-generals, 8 cornets, 4 vice or rear admirals, 3 lieutenant-generals, 2 generals, and 23 paymasters, secretaries, and officers whose precise rank in the forces is not given. Thus there are some 327 members closely connected with the war establishments of the land, while the more important interests of commerce and manufacture command but 107 members.


REBELLION AND THE PERIODICAL PRESS. — It will take a long time barely to ascertain the extent to which the rebellion has interfered with efforts to enlighten and elevate the mass of the people in the rebellious States. In a year or two it closed most of their colleges and theological seminaries, suspended nearly all their religious and most of their secular papers, and either stopped entirely, or largely curtailed the general means of grace.


Take a few facts that transpired early in the rebellion. "At the commencement of the rebellion the Church South had six *Advocates* in at least a living condition; now it has but two, the Nashville and St. Louis *Advocates*, and these will hardly survive the winter." Said the *Presbyterian Herald*, Louisville, Ky., "A few months since there were five religious papers in this city, and now ours is the only one here. Nearly half of the papers which came to our office a year ago, have ceased to live." At this time, though quite early in the rebellion, its first year, not one religious paper was published beyond the Mississippi in all rebeldom, and only here and there one was able to prolong a sickly existence. How generally is this effect of the rebellion overlooked!

COMMON SENSE URGING PEACE MEASURES. — England with her possessions scattered all over the globe, is kept by her war-policy constantly liable to collision with the natives. She is seldom entirely free from such embroilments; and the London *Times*, with a degree of good sense quite unusual in its columns, urges a more peaceful policy to prevent such evils. Its plan is, "first, to withdraw our troops from near Ireland, and secondly, to hand over to the colonial authorities the entire management of their relations with the natives. So long as we have troops in the colony, we can never feel secure that they may not be called upon to take part in operations against the natives; and when once they have done so, our honor is concerned in fighting out a struggle in which we have taken part. It ought besides to be made quite clear that in the case of a future war the whole weight will fall on the colonists, and that there will be no possibility of again obtaining that object which a large portion of the mercantile classes in a colony always so earnestly desire — a great commissariat expenditure."



 **TO EDITORS**—the Advocate is sent in the hope that they will in their own columns use its contents, in whatever way they may think best, to diffuse as much light as possible on the subject to which it is devoted, and thus help form a public sentiment that shall gradually supersede war by introducing better means for the settlement of national disputes.


 **TO MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL**—the Advocate is occasionally sent without charge. We hope it will be welcome, and lead them to examine and advocate the great cause which it pleads.

 Sent gratis to every member of the Society, to contributors of one dollar or more a year, to every minister who preaches annually on the subject, and takes up a collection for the cause, and also to the Library or Reading Room of every College and Theological Seminary, to be preserved for permanent use.

PUBLICATIONS BY THE SOCIETY.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706.....	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 193.....	75
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,.....	1 00
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252,.....	25
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212,.....	25
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108	30
The Right Way; a Premium Work on Peace, by Rev. Joseph A. Collier, 16 mo., pp. 303. Issued by the Am. Tract Society, as one of its Evangelical Family Library Volumes.....	25
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,.....	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310,.....	50
Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with Christianity, by Jonathan Dymond. 8vo., pp. 168.....	25
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner; with Judge Underwood's Report on Stipulated Arbitration. 8vo., 80 pp.,.....	20
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$2 50 per 100.)	5
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16.....	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12,.....	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. Amasa Walker.....	
Various Addresses before the Society, and about 80 stereotyped Tracts.	

FORM OF BEQUEST.—I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of _____ dollars, to be paid in _____ months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge. —  Be very careful to give the Society its exact name, and have the Will drawn in the way, and attested by the number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or your purpose will very probably be defeated.

POSTAGE.—*The law allows* only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may, be addressed all communications designed for the Society.

THE
ADVOCATE OF PEACE

FOR

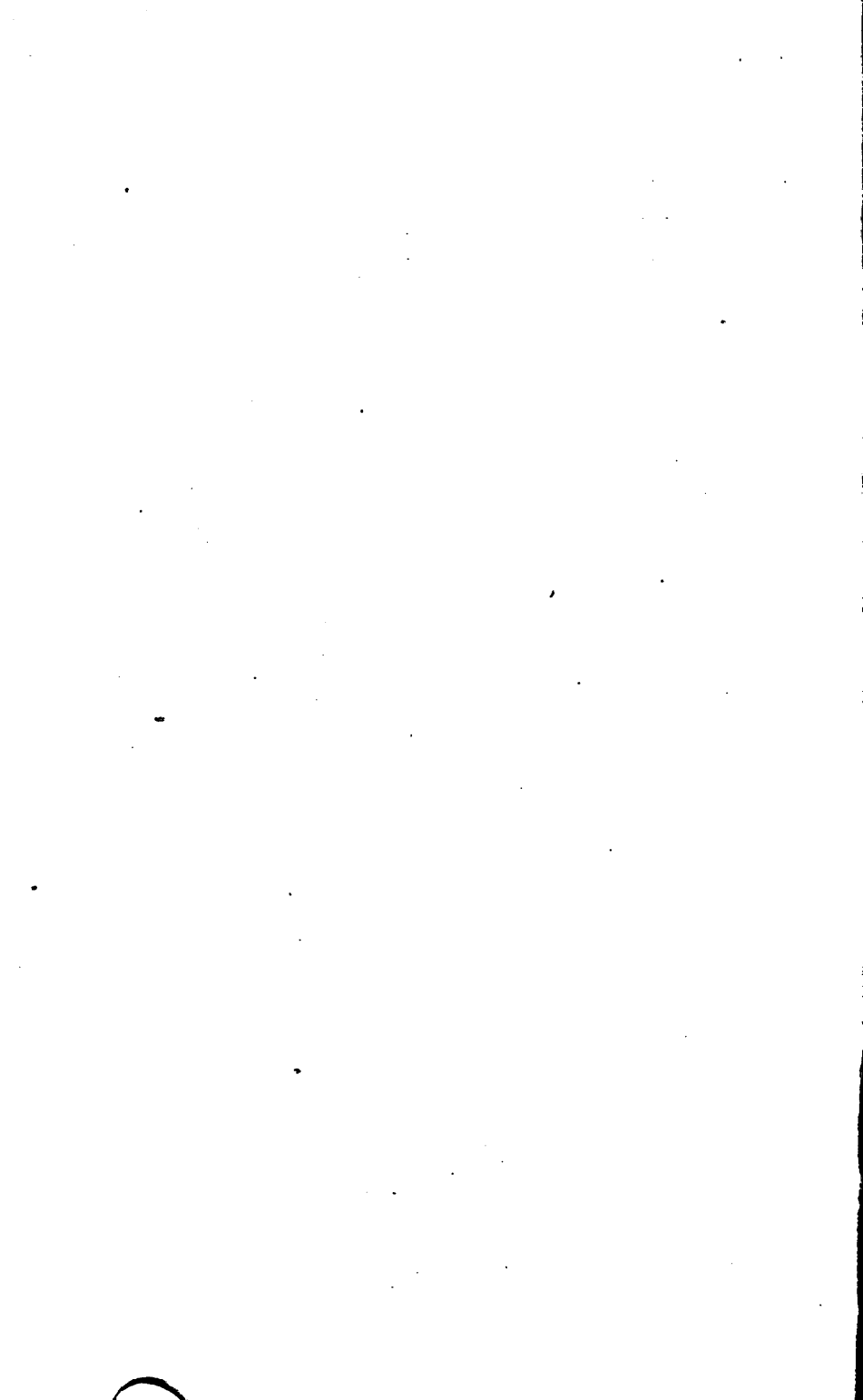
NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER.

CONTENTS.

Substitutes for War.....	357	Extinction of our Debt.....	376
Dietetics.....	359	Charleston, account of.....	377
International Arbitration.....	360	Chapter on the South.....	378
Prof. Lieber's Note.....	364	Recoil of Rebellion.....	378
War and Liberty.....	365	Confessions of Southerners.....	378
Settlement by War.....	366	Effects of returning Peace.....	379
Flogging.....	367	Dangers ahead.....	380
Clerical Endorsement of War.....	368	Chapter on Finances.....	382
Capture of Ebersberg.....	371	Direct Cost of the Rebellion to Vt.....	382
London Star on America.....	373	Local Taxes one of its Legacies....	382
British Newspapers.....	374	Legacy of Dr. Worcester.....	383
Literary Statesmen.....	375	Financial Waste of War.....	383
New Tracts.....	375	Index.....	384

 See last page of cover.

BOSTON:
AMERICAN PEACE SOCIETY.
CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY BUILDING, 23 CHAUNCY STREET.
1865.



THE

ADVOCATE OF PEACE.

NOVEMBER AND DECEMBER, 1865.

SUBSTITUTES FOR WAR.

THE cause of peace is a system of means designed to obviate the necessity of war by providing far better expedients than the sword ever can be for settling disputes between nations, and insuring their mutual safety and rights. These ends *must* be gained in *some* way; and the war-system will of course be retained until it is actually superseded by peaceful substitutes equally, if not more effectual for all purposes of international justice and security.

At this point the Peace Reform interposes its system of Substitutes for War. Of these the chief are four, — 1. *Negotiation*, where the parties become cool, candid, and wise enough to settle their disputes between themselves without any aid from third parties; confessedly the best way whenever practicable; — 2. *Arbitration*, when the disputants, unable to agree among themselves, refer the matters in controversy to umpires mutually chosen; — 3. *Mediation*, when the parties become so exasperated, or are so unfortunately circumstanced, that they cannot, consistently with the current code of national honor, have any further friendly intercourse with each other, one or more powers interpose with the offer to mediate between the disputants for the prevention of a resort to the sword; — 4. *A Congress of Nations*, by which we mean an application to nations of essentially the same

means of justice and security that every civilized people have provided for individuals and all minor communities. We give this epitome or outline of expedients for obviating the necessity of war, just to show at a glance by what means and methods the friends of peace hope in time to do away the war-system by removing its necessity.

The substitute for war now most feasible and effective is *Arbitration*, or reference to umpires. Better for the parties to agree among themselves, if they can ; but, if they cannot, we wish nations in every case to settle their disputes as individuals do theirs, by some mode of reference. We urge this as an established, permanent principle. We think nations should incorporate in every treaty a clause binding the parties to adjust whatever differences may arise between them, not by the sword in any case, but by reference to umpires mutually chosen, and agree to abide by their decision, and to claim, if dissatisfied, only the privilege of renewing or changing the reference.

To such a substitute, we can see no valid objection. It relinquishes no right, it sacrifices no interest, it would startle few prejudices, it is adapted to the present state of the world, and consistent alike with the precepts of Christianity, and the dictates of sound policy ; a measure level to the comprehension of all, and commending itself to their common sense as simple, feasible, and likely to prove in most cases successful, to the extent at least of preventing war. Nor is the principle new, but as old as government or human society. It lies, indeed, at the bottom of every trial in our courts ; and we often find the wisest and best men preferring it in their own case even to a regular course of law. Nor is it unreasonable to ask that nations, to prevent the vast and terrible evils inseparable from a resort to the sword, should use the same degree of justice, candor, and good sense in adjusting their own difficulties as individuals do in theirs.

Public opinion ought, in every Christian community, to *insist* upon such substitutes in place of the blind, brutal arbitrament of the sword. Nations, no less than individuals, are moral agents, and equally bound to an amicable, bloodless adjustment of their difficulties ; and, if war is held by none to be justifiable except as a last resort, and should never be employed till after all other expedients have failed, then must they, on the lowest principles of peace or common sense, abstain from the sword until they have tried in good faith all rational, peaceful expedients. All this they certainly can do, if they will ; and until they do so, war is not in fact, as everybody says it ought to be, their *last* resort.

There is on this whole subject a strange species of self-deception. We talk flippantly about war as settling a dispute ; but in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, it merely makes the parties willing to adjust it by peaceful means. Almost invariably they sheathe the sword before they seriously think of a settlement, and despatch, not men of blood to fight, but men of peace, plenipotentiaries, to negotiate. Why not do this *before* fighting, and thus obviate all necessity of war ? We had a controversy with England about our north-eastern boundary ; and, had we gone to war, would that have settled the dispute ? No ; it would only have aggravated its difficulties. There is no logic in bullets and bomb-shells ; the butchery of millions on the disputed territory could not have thrown a single ray of new light on the points in controversy ; and, after wasting myriads of treasure, and shedding oceans of blood, we should have been obliged to employ for the final adjustment the very same pacific means that might have been used even more successfully before the war than after it.

So in nearly every conceivable case ; and hence we press the wisdom and duty of adopting Arbitration as a recognized, *permanent* substitute for war. We gladly welcome it, in accordance with the able letter of Professor Lieber to Secretary Seward, as an *occasional* expedient, but shall never rest until it shall be woven into the settled policy of nations. Stipulated Arbitration is a plain, simple, and feasible substitute for the sword, now and at all times within the reach of nations ; and the friends of God and humanity ought to keep it before the public, and press the arguments in its favor, until it shall be adopted in practice by all Christendom.

DIETETICS. — What shall we eat ? is an important question in these times of high prices. Dr. Hall, in a late number of the "Journal of Health," — good authority, by the way, — says the cheapest articles of food at present prices are bread (especially corn meal); butter, molasses, beans, and rice. He shows that 25 cents' worth of flour, at 8 cents per pound, contains as much nourishment as \$2.25 worth of roast beef at 25 cents per pound ; and that a pint of white beans, costing 7 cents, has the same amount of nutriment as 3 1-2 pounds of beef at 25 cents per pound ; or, in other words, the roast-beef diet is twelve times as expensive as the beans. Furthermore, a pound of Indian meal will go as far as a pound of fine flour, costing nearly twice as much.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION.

A LETTER TO HON. WILLIAM H. SEWARD, SECRETARY OF STATE, BY FRANCIS LIEBER.

DEAR SIR: Permit me to address you, in the form of a letter, some remarks on a subject which deserves the attention of every American citizen and every lover of right and progress. You, sir, at the head of our foreign affairs, influencing and guiding in a great measure our highest transactions abroad and at home, will, I respectfully trust, pardon me for sending forth this letter with your name as that of its public recipient, since its topic is international arbitration.

The United States have large claims upon Great Britain for the injury done them by the armed vessels fitted out against them in English ports contrary to the laws of neutrality. On the other hand, it is understood that Great Britain exhibits counter-claims against the United States. The subject is, in every respect, a serious one. How are such claims and counter-claims to be settled?

International disputes of a grave character can only be concluded in one of the following four ways: The discussion may be drawn on for so long a time that greater questions arise in the course of events, and the original subject is dropped by its mention being omitted in a new treaty which may be concluded. This has happened, indeed; but such a settlement by default, as it were, is not likely to occur again in modern times, when the parties at issue are large and powerful nations, and the subject in question is of commensurate magnitude.

Or the contending governments may diplomatically settle their difficulties, and seal the settlement by special treaty. It is not probable that America and England will arrive at a conclusion of their differences by this means, certainly not within a reasonably short time. All protraction, however, of international difficulties, especially between great nations destined to have the closest intercourse, is both injurious and dangerous. It interferes with the international spirit of peace, without which a purely formal peace, that is, mere non-existence of war, amounts only to international quiescence, shorn in a great measure of the best realities of peace. This is especially the case with all those nations who acknowledge that the first and perhaps the highest law of modern extending civilization is the commandment, that there shall be an increasing and widening family of nations, bound together by the great law of nations. At any rate, this communication is written on the supposition that the present English-American disagreement will not be settled by diplomatic transactions, or cannot thus be concluded within any reasonable period of time.

The third way of stopping international discussions is war. A discussion may certainly thus be stopped for a time; but neither party can expect the settlement of pecuniary claims by rushing into a war, since new claims

would necessarily arise, and each belligerent would be obliged to incur expenditures greater than any indemnities claimed of the opponent before the war. Neither ourselves nor the English would expect to indemnify themselves by conquest, which, moreover, is generally a poor indemnification, so far as the settlement of pecuniary claims is concerned. The enormous sums which Napoleon drew by way of "contributions" from the conquered countries, did not lessen the heavy taxation in France, made necessary by his wars. Going to war with England on account of our pecuniary claims would simply amount to the attempt of killing a fly, crawling on a costly piece of sevre, by throwing a stone at the insect from fear that it may soil the precious vase.

There remains, then, arbitration only as the fourth method of ending international differences. International arbitration, freely resorted to by powerful governments, conscious of their complete independence and self-sustaining sovereignty, is one of the foremost characteristics of advancing civilization — of the substitution of reason, fairness, and submission to justice, for defying power or revengeful irritation. It belongs to modern, indeed to recent, times; yet, although it is a noble characteristic of the more recent times, it still bears uncouth features of coarser periods, and demands improvement and development. The law of nations is awaiting them.

The administration of all law may be said to originate with arbitration, and all law, as it develops itself further and further, largely returns to courts of arbitration, justly and beautifully called, in French and German, Courts of Peace. The Roman civil law acknowledged arbitration. The courts of arbitration, with elected and non-professional judges to whom parties voluntarily go to obtain equitable arbitraments, with the exclusion of professional counsel, have spread all over Prussia, Denmark, and other countries, settling annually immense amounts in litigation.

The ancient Greeks, with their many city-states and confederacies of the same language and religion, and with a similar culture, knew, if not of international, yet of *inter-statal* arbitration — temporary commissions appointed by contending cities, to whose judgment the parties swore to submit. For it will be hardly necessary to state, that the characteristic feature of these arbitrations is the voluntary submission of the parties to a freely-chosen judge, with a binding and solemn promise of the litigants to abide in good faith by his adjudication.

That international arbitration, however, which consists in a sovereign power chosen by two contending equally sovereign powers, or by governments representing entire nations, rendering judgment, and this judgment being submitted to in good faith by two potent sovereigns — this arbitration belongs to the most recent times, and is considered by international jurists, and by the students of the history of civilization, one of the encouraging signs of real progress.

So far, however, monarchs have been almost exclusively chosen as arbitrators, which is inconvenient on several accounts. It may happen that the

parties may be unable to unite in the election of a monarch or government, suiting both alike. The present case between the United States and Great Britain seems to be a case in point. We would probably select none but the Emperor of Russia, if we were at all willing to submit our case to a European government; and if we were convinced of a sufficient acquaintance with the law of nations as well as with maritime law in the officials of that highly military government; while Russia, in all probability, would not suit Great Britain.

The other and great inconvenience in selecting a monarch as arbiter, is the fact that the only one who is publicly known as the judge is the very one who, in the course of things, does not occupy himself with the case, cannot do so, and is not expected by any one to do so.

When an international difficulty is brought before a monarch, or even before the chief representative of a republic, who is now always the *chief executive*, what is the course which things take? The Minister of Justice, or some similar high functionary, is directed to take the case in hand; and he appoints some counsellor or other officer, possibly a committee, to make a report to him, which he lays before the nominal arbiter. Those who really decide the case are unknown, or at least bear no public, and feel no last responsibility.

In many cases of this sort exists the grave inconvenience and serious inconsistency of handing over questions of the highest law and most elevated justice to an executive, and not to an authority of judicial renown and responsibility. How much easier would be the acquiescence in the judgment, how much more becoming to civilized communities, and how much nobler in every way, would be the selection of judges from among jurists of a high reputation for their comprehensive knowledge and unyielding loyalty to justice and jural truth! There is, probably, no fair-minded Englishman or American who would not submit the whole amount of the claims in question far more readily to a Hugo Grotius, than to the ruler of any empire now existing. Still it may be observed that there is not always a Hugo Grotius at hand; nor can individuals, however unsullied in reputation, and resolute in speaking out what is right, be expected, in all countries, to be able wholly to separate themselves from government pressure. It would be difficult, in the present state of our civilization, to make two contending nations agree on a single person, not a monarch, and assign to a living jurist that authority which the Congress of Vienna granted, among others, to Grotius, freely quoted in that great international council. Nor would it be easy to persuade a private individual to serve as umpire, could the contending parties be made to agree as to the desirable international judge; but could they not be induced to agree to lay the whole subject at issue before the law faculty of some foreign university, if both parties are sincerely disposed to obtain only what is due to them, and what is strictly right? The members of such a faculty are generally men who have already made a name which they hope will go down to posterity in law and its

literature; they know the whole weight and meaning of a grave decision in the highest regions of the law, and would be conscious that in an international case their decision, while probed and scanned by the foremost intellects of their race, would pass over as part and parcel into that law which prevails between independent nations, which is enforced by equity and reason, and is gradually extending even beyond that race which happily created it. For I am writing this paper when not only the Turks, Egypt and Persia have given in their adhesion to many of the main points of our law of nations, but when a translation of *Wheaton's Law of Nations* into Chinese has arrived in this country, and is now in the library of your department.

In the present case it is taken for granted that neither party desires nor hopes to be able to outwit the other. The American and the English nations are too great to descend to diplomatic artifice; and if there were no objection to such a course or to such attempts on the ground of international high-mindedness and equity, prudence and expediency alone would dictate to abandon so unworthy a desire. The Americans and the English are people at once too clear-sighted and too stubborn, too much on a level of intellect and civilization, and they agree too much in their knowledge and conceptions of justice, law and fairness, to hope much from diplomatic cunning, or for successful overreaching. But if they really wish to settle their differences on the principles of law, it may be asked whether there is a single English-speaking man this side of the Atlantic, or on the eastern side, who would doubt that such a faculty of law as that of the University of Berlin, with the international jurist Heffter in it; or if Prussia were considered too much of a great Power, the law faculty of Heidelberg or of Leyden would be a fitter body to decide our differences than any emperor or any republic. A republic could not decide the case as a republic, but must hand it over to some commission. A law faculty, especially that of a renowned university in a minor State, seems to form a tribunal fitter than any other that can be imagined for many, perhaps most, of the great international cases. It would seem almost made for so high a function, and the selection of a law faculty as a court of international arbitration, would be a measure worthy of being inaugurated by the two freest large nations, and whose governments are to be numbered in diplomacy among the least unreasonable and uncandid ones.

Let the United States and Great Britain agree upon the University; let them obtain the permission of its government to appeal to the law faculty, which would doubtless be readily granted; let the two powers distinctly settle the remuneration which each in equal shares is to grant to the faculty, excluding all other immediate or prospective presents or distinctions; let each contending party appoint its commissioners, as many as each party chooses; and nobody would doubt that a just judgment would be obtained.

The compensation, out of place as it would seem in an international case, is nevertheless taken into consideration here, for the reasons that the case at

issue would occupy a very large space of time of the high judges, and in order to forestall every particle of that machinery which consists in part of ribbons and orders, snuff-boxes and titles, presents of money or land, direct or prospective. Not that such judges would be likely to be swayed by means of this kind in their judgment. That tribunal, with nations for its clients, would doubtless be conscious of standing in turn before a greater tribunal — before their profession in all history ; but all seeming attempt, or faint suspicion of an attempt, at lowering so great a court to common diplomacy, ought to be kept far away.

Great universities have been appealed to in former times, though it was generally in theological matters. Within the different countries, such as France or Germany, they have indeed been appealed to, and still are occasionally so, at least in the last-mentioned country, in civil and penal matters. Why should we not seize upon these institutions, themselves characteristic of our own civilization, in international matters? The adoption of the proposed plan would be a signal step in the progress of our race. There is no nobler sight than the strong, be they single men or nations, laying down their strength like a sword by their side, saying, ' We will abide by the judgment of the just ; let justice be done.'

This proposition does not interest my mind by the charms of novelty. I communicated a similar one to a prominent statesman in Congress as far back as the time of the Oregon question, and it was clearly elicited in my mind when the decision of King William, of the Netherlands, concerning the north-eastern boundary became known in this country. Circumstances did not call for a closer consideration ; but I now venture to lay it before you, sir, in a more elaborate form, and try to attract the attention of the public to it through your eminent name.

Whether the two nations to whom the spread of civilization over the globe has been assigned more than to any other people, will accept this way of settling differences in the present case or not, there is no doubt in my mind that the Cis-Caucasian race will rise, at no very distant day, to the selection of such umpires, far more dignified than a crowned arbitrator can be.

I have the honor to subscribe myself, with the highest regard, your very obedient servant,

FRANCIS LIEBER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Sept. 17, 1865.

NOTE FROM PROF. LIEBER. — In answer to some inquiries, he says, —

" Let me remove all misunderstanding. It is the first public letter which I have addressed to a distinguished citizen, without having first obtained his permission of doing so. Certain circumstances prevented it. Mr. Seward therefore is not to be considered in favor of my plan, from the fact of my addressing him the letter. I urged Senator Sumner, in the beginning of the Rebellion, to propose an international con-

gress to settle some three or four points of international law between the United States, Great Britain and France, and any other powers willing to share in the Congress. Senator Sumner agreed fully with me; but the thing was not feasible at the time.

Few things obtainable would be as solemnly important, at the present period of our race's advancement, as an unofficial and a public meeting of the six or seven most prominent international jurists of Europe and America, to settle, by their combined intellect and individual authority of their names, certain points which continue to harass our race, and thus to anticipate the slow process of centuries which it often requires for single authorities to work themselves up, and through the barriers of national feeling or separation, slowly to gather the assent of others. Such congress or council, if it could be brought about, would have greater influence even than the single opinions, though all were agreeing.

To be strong, it ought not to be official, and not to be a gathering of deputations. It ought to be nothing more than a convention of the first jurists; but it ought to be all that. If I were living in Europe, I would labor toward that end. Would not such a council be almost like an ecumenical council in the great Ecclesia of nations, as bodies possessed of equal rights and claims, and commanded by their Creator to live under the *agis* of Equity, as the individuals are commanded to live? The force and strength of this body would exist in its non-officialness, as the strength of a quotation from Hugo Grotius lies in the fact that he said what he said as a faithful jurist, and not as an employed official."

WAR AND LIBERTY.

We are all familiar with the conflicting views entertained even at the North respecting the course taken by our government in suppressing the late rebellion. It was denounced as "trampling on the Constitution, on public liberty and private right, on justice, humanity and the general welfare;" as usurping extraordinary and dangerous powers, and subverting in fact the fundamental maxim, that government derives all its just powers from the consent of the governed.

I will not be responsible for this partisan logic; but I must say that these are essentially true, unless we find (as we do) in the provisions of the constitution for war and its appendages, license granted for such extrajudicial procedures. National custom and usage gave license to war over the head of civil law, even in constitutional governments like our own. Thus this war, though begun and prosecuted as a police operation to suppress treason, with a cautious regard for civil law, civil rights, and civil liberty, was soon driven into a belligerent attitude by the force of that lawless, dictatorial, despotic license which the world has given to what is called *civilized warfare*.

It seems time to take warning, and be well on our guard against the

insidious encroachments of war principles upon our liberties. While these absurd innovations upon civil government, civil law and civil liberty are denounced by one party, and defended by the other as being justified by the necessities of war, the nation ought to learn the absurdity of relying on war as an institution for the defence of liberty or law. It is the plague-spot of nationality, and has caused more wanton destruction of life, liberty and property, than all other causes combined.

War the protector of civil rights and civil liberty! It is no more so than the private duel is. Such facts the Peace Society has long labored ethically to establish. Will not the practical demonstrations before us do much, at a dear rate, to establish these truths in the popular mind, and thus doom the custom of war to its appropriate brand of guilt and shame? B.

SETTLEMENT BY WAR.

THE Northern papers are everywhere declaring that the right of secession was "submitted to the arbitrament of war," and was *settled* by the conquest and surrender of the secessionists; and this absurd proposition is repeated by many of the wisest statesmen and most talented writers and orators in the land. On the contrary there is scarce an instance recorded in history, where the doctrine of the friends of peace, that war settles nothing, was made more apparent and certain than by the victorious result of the efforts to suppress the late rebellion.

An eminent Northern senator, several years ago, before his judgment was perverted by the martial spirit, said in Congress, "Nothing is settled that is not right." To this almost self-evident proposition, every rational man seemed then to agree; and, as the leaders of the Southern Confederacy did not consider themselves wrong in contending for their independence, so do they yet believe they were in the right, though defeated in the struggle for it. There is probably not a person who fully believed in the right of secession of the States when it was voted, who does not still hold that opinion, though he may not dare to express it. The question is indeed crushed, but not settled; and when occasion may arise, in an age of different judgment, it may again be renewed, and vigorously contended for, with an opposite result. We trust, that, through the efforts of Peace Societies, such contention may not be again attempted by the blood-stained sword, but by the peaceful arbitrament of judicial or political action.

War settles nothing. Its results are ever as unproductive as mischievous; and while it is the most ruinous, cruel and costly of all human operations, it is at the same time the most inefficacious. Long ago the sagacious Jefferson declared, in the face of the American people, that "war is entirely inefficient toward redressing wrong, and multiplies instead of indemnifying losses." This declaration has to this day been unrefuted; and no intelligent advocate of peace can have

the least confidence in war as a means of obtaining any really good object; and yet no rulers or people in any part of the world, not even those who most profess to admire and follow the principles of Jefferson, hesitate in their excitement to adopt this costly and inefficacious method of action, whenever to them there seems occasion for it. Is not this a blindness which future ages will rank with the delusions of the past?

But, says the war-maker, 'we must defend our homes and our liberties when invaded; we must assert our rights when violated; we must repel insults which assail our honor certainly.' The friends of peace do not say that you should submit to these injuries in any such way as shall give them effect, or encourage their repetition; but they do say, that you cannot avert or remedy these wrongs by war. By this you may change, but you increase, their oppression. You think you have no alternative. The Son of God has shown you a better one: "Love your enemies; do good to them that hate you." This method we would urge, not merely as the most innocent and benevolent, in which light it is commonly considered, but not willing to admit that our heavenly Father would give us a precept tending only to our injury, or destruction, and holding that the policy of heaven must be wiser and more effectual than the policy of earth, we would advise, that it be thoroughly and fearlessly adopted.

This doctrine is not disproved by experience. By innumerable instances in private life, the friends of peace have shown it to be invariably successful; and why should it not be equally efficacious in nations and governments? By them it has never been tried; no nation has ever been invaded by another which has not given a defiance to their invaders by military preparations for alleged defence. Powerful rulers are ever more influenced by pride than fear; and the ambitious despot, who looks undauntedly or with contempt on the defences of a community marked for his prey, would stand aghast at the aspect of unarmed, unresisting kindness, and instead of a victory, by which he would subdue only slaughtered bodies, he would himself sustain a defeat in the destruction of his rebuked malignity.

But be it otherwise; if, with a ferocity as regardless of character as of danger, an invader proceeds to inflict utter ruin or destruction on an unresisting people, they lose only earthly possessions and comforts, not worth bloody defence by war, and in their martyr obedience to divine injunction, attain, in the more glorious kingdom of heaven, an elevation of honor and felicity of which their deluded and depraved conquerors must forever despair.

J. P. B.

FLOGGING. — This punishment is still a part of the discipline in the British army and navy. From official statements recently made public, it appears that in 1862 there were 31,692 lashes administered in the army. In some vessels, well known and much avoided by the sailors, the lash is in constant use. These are the *Odin*, *Neptune*, *Mars*, and *Bachante*.

CLERICAL ENDORSEMENT OF WAR.

WITHDRAWAL OF RELIGIOUS SUPPORT FROM THE WAR-SYSTEM ESSENTIAL
TO SUCCESS IN THE CAUSE OF PEACE.

THAT the religion which Jesus Christ, the Prince of peace, inculcated, should be made instrumental in sustaining war, would seem impossible. Yet such is the fact; and while nothing can be more in contrast with the teachings of the divine Saviour than the war-system, this system is taught more or less directly by the clergy of the present age, and received as divinely sanctioned by the Church and the people.

Such endorsement is one of the chief obstacles to the progress of peace. While war is denounced in the abstract, from the pulpit and the religious press, as having its foundation in the depraved heart of man, and the sentiment is generally received as self-evident, yet all this can do little toward doing away the war-system so long as the present attitude of the clergy and the church is retained. So long as the present war-system is justified or palliated as necessary, and we retain the appellations *necessary, defensive, civilized warfare*, such appellations are pretty sure to be appended to every war by its abettors. As the pulpit's utterances exhibit the voluntary soldier as highly meritorious in this exigency, the Christian, being in all his justifiable course a devoted servant of Christ, to engage in the war becomes a religious duty; and thus the pugnacious, the ambitious, and the ostentatious passions of those in the vigor of youth, receive full license for indulgence. It is on such license that the diabolical practice of war lives. It is by the glory heaped upon the achievements of war, and endorsed by the church, that the war-system is still upheld. Who ever hears the name of soldier uttered in public without the appendage of some adjective of commendation as, *brave soldier, self-denying patriot, and the like*, and, if fallen, as one who nobly sacrificed his life, his all on the altar of his country, and is resting in glory? So also the mourning friends are consoled with the idea that their loved one fell in the performance of a high duty, fighting nobly for his country, his altars, and his God, until it has almost come to be understood that the battle-field is the shortest and surest way to heaven.

Now, we need not so much wonder that religious aid should be sought as essential to the support of war, when we consider how direct a hold the war-system takes on the prerogatives of the Great Supreme. Man never could justify himself in the massacres of war but by the claim of some divine or superhuman sanction. In accordance with this idea, the pagan princes of antiquity clothed their factitious gods with attributes adapted to their wars, and thus secured in war the service of their credulous subjects. Both sacred and profane history afford evidence of such facts. When Jehovah, through the instrumentality of Israel, "poured contempt" on the paganism of the world, that he might thereby demonstrate his own infinite and universal supremacy as the one only living and true God, he gave to Israel possessions which

the heathen claimed as the gift of their gods of war. We have an incidental disclosure of this fact that they thus predicated their claims to territory in Jephthah's reply to the king of Ammon, "Will ye not possess that which Chemosh your God giveth you to possess? So what the Lord our God giveth us to possess, that will we possess." Judges xi. 23, 24.

The history of the church seems to corroborate the same idea, that the system of war, any system of war, must be dependent on religion for its support. For the first three centuries of the church, war was discarded by Christians generally. Consequently, whatever else they suffered, they did not suffer by war. And though about the close of that period the church seems to have been beguiled into it to some extent, and, in connection with it, into semi-paganism by favor and by flattery, yet the war sentiment seems not to have been sufficiently predominant among professed Christians to secure its full efficiency until Mahomet arose in the early part of the seventh century, when by his new revelations from God, he stimulated his followers with extravagant promises of felicity in heaven, as a reward for valor in propagating his religion by fire and blood. To such a perversion of the Bible, and a consequent instigation of war principles and war passions, are we indebted for the rise and wide, long-continued and hateful prevalence of Mohamedism.

So also the crusades of the eleventh and twelfth centuries are another striking illustration of the same fact, that war is dependent on the religion of a people for its vigor and strength. The fact that at that period the papal hierarchy held so absolute control over the monarchs and people of Europe, may account for the magnitude of those "holy wars," as they were styled, and the zeal and persistency with which they were prosecuted. Indeed it might be difficult to show that war of any considerable magnitude was ever prosecuted without essential aid from the prevailing religion of a nation. The wars of Protestant Christendom are screened under the appellation of civilized defensive wars. But it ought to be kept in mind, that there can be no such thing as civilized defensive warfare. The terms involve an absurdity; the term defensive war necessarily implies an offending antagonist, while the term civilized, as applied to international law, and the laws of war, forbids any such distinction. The ideas of aggression and of pure defence forbid any such mutual understanding. A war prosecuted according to conceded rules, can no more be defensive on either side, than a duel so prosecuted between individuals. The term *civilized defensive warfare* can be of no other use than for each party to appropriate it to itself. It can be no justification of the laws and usages of war to say they restrain from much of the barbarity which was practised in olden times, and prevent much carnage. Whether this be true or not, (which may be doubted,) it does not belong to ministers of Christ, or his followers, to choose between greater and less moral wrongs. The moral law and the precepts of the gospel are inflexible.

In behalf of defensive wars we are often challenged, 'would you

not defend yourself against a midnight assassin, the means of defence being at hand ?' This question is treated as a finality in the case ; but, understand it as pertinent and honestly asked, we must suppose the assassin entering and assailing in accordance with the rules of civilized robbery and assassination, and the supposed resistance to be made in accordance with such rules. So understood, it needs no answer. Policy may prevaricate ; but it is the duty of those charged by the Prince of peace to receive the word at his mouth, and warn the people from *him*. When he descended on high, leading captivity captive, he uttered this announcement, " All power is given unto me in heaven and earth ; " and charged his followers, " Go ye and teach *all nations*, teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you ; and, lo, I am with you always, even to the end of the world."

Where, then, can we look if not to those charged with the duty of putting an end to war ? Authority has its origin in God. Ministers of religion are the dispensers of his injunctions upon men ; and it is by the people the officers of government are intrusted with the execution of authority according to their sense of right and justice. It is futile under present circumstances to look to the officers of government to institute such a reform. For them to attempt it would only remove themselves from office and power. To rely on moving the great mass of the people in this direction, against the teachings of the clergy, would, in fact, be aiding scepticism and infidelity to press their most powerful arguments against the Church. They could further the desired end no farther than they could force upon the Church an abandonment of its war position. Infidelity can lay no sufficient foundation for peace. It may pull down, but can never build up. The Prince of peace will never give the glory of this achievement to another. All prophecy is pledged to this effect.

Thus clear is it that war in Christendom, and consequently throughout the world, is to be done away only by a right exhibition of the gospel requisitions as pertaining to this subject. With this duty the great Head of the Church has charged his disciples, and furnished them with ample means for its performance. Whether we of this generation shall apply them, or leave it to a future generation to realize the blessedness, is at our option. Still the duty is resting upon us with all the force of a divine command. The way is plain before us, and more obvious than that of most reforms. Should our churches take the same attitude towards the practice of indulging in alcoholic beverage which they now occupy toward war, how long would it be ere the fires of the distillery would be rekindled in all our towns, and intemperance resume its former course ? Yet intemperance never depended on religious teachings for its support as the custom of war ever has. If there is lingering in the Church an apprehension honestly entertained that war may be consistent with Christianity in certain cases, such opinion should be brought out from its obscurity, and exposed before the Christian public, that its fallacy and absurdity may be seen by all. Thus should the

pioneers in the cause of peace lay the axe at the root of the tree ; and assured that it bringeth not forth good fruit, it would be hewn down and cast into the fire.

S. W. B.

MIDDLEBURY, Vt., Oct. 24, 1865.

CAPTURE OF EBERSBERG.

THE French army was now approaching the river Traun, one of the tributaries of the Danube. Napoleon decided to cross it at several points, some miles distant from each other. Massena, with seven thousand men, advanced to the Traun, opposite Ebersberg. Here occurred one of the most extravagant acts of reckless courage and one of the most revolting scenes of human butchery, recorded in military history. The river was very broad, and was crossed by a narrow bridge 1,200 feet in length. At the farther end of the bridge was an escarped plateau. Above it rose the little town of Ebersberg, surmounted by a strong castle, which was bristling with cannon. In the front of the bridge, on the escarpment of the plateau, nearly 40,000 men were drawn up in line of battle. The bridge at its western extremity was enfladed by houses filled with musketeers. A formidable array of artillery, disposed on the heights above, commanded the whole extent of the frail structure. The bridge was of wood, and by the application of the torch would have been immediately enveloped in flames. The Austrians, however, deemed its passage so utterly impossible that they did not suppose that the French would even attempt it.

But the impetuous Massena delayed not a moment. He ordered an immediate charge, as he feared that an hour's delay might induce the Austrians to blow up the bridge. General Cohorn, a man of diminutive stature, but of most intensely forceful and impetuous spirit, placed himself at the head of the brigade. At double-quick step the dense column pressed along the bridge. An unexampled scene of horror ensued. The troops were soon enveloped in a cloud of smoke. A storm of grape-shot and canister swept mutilation and death through their ranks. Two or three ammunition wagons blew up in the midst of the struggling throng, and scattered awful carnage around. The bridge was soon so encumbered with the wounded and the dead that Massena deemed himself driven to the horrible necessity of commanding the fresh troops that came up to toss their mangled and struggling companions into the swollen torrent which swept furiously below. Those who performed this revolting service were soon struck down themselves, and were treated in the same manner by those who next came up to the attack. There was no alternative. But for this dreadful measure the bridge would soon have become impassable, and all upon it would have perished. Enveloped with smoke, and deafened by the roar of battle, and with shots, shells, and bullets mowing down their ranks, these veteran soldiers, who in becoming veterans had almost ceased to be men, pressed sternly on, trampling upon severed limbs, wading through blood, and throwing their wounded and beseeching comrades into the surging flood. Well might the Duke of Wellington say, "A man of refined Christian sensibilities is totally unfit for the profession of a soldier."

Through this frightful storm of shot the French rushed along, till they reached the gate at the farther end of the bridge. Here the whole head of the column was swept away. Those in the rear, however, rushed on over their mangled comrades, dashed down the gates, and drove their foes before

them. The Austrians retreated through the town, setting fire to the houses, and disputing every inch of ground. The French struggled on, trampling on the bodies of the dead and wounded of either army. In the blazing streets the conflict raged with unparalleled ferocity. Ebersberg was at last taken. It was, however, but a heap of smoking ruins. The town was so much in flames that the wounded could not be withdrawn. The blazing rafters fell on those wretched victims of war, and, shrieking in agony, their mangled limbs were slowly consumed by fire. Their hideous cries blended with the hateful clamor of these demoniac scenes. An intolerable stench of burning corpses filled the air. Still, through the blazing streets and over the mangled and blackened fragments of human bodies, the French rushed on with horse and artillery and ammunition wagons, crushing flesh and bones, and cinders, and blood-mingled mire, into a hideous mass of corruption. The Austrians, appalled at such incredible daring, soon retired, leaving six thousand of the slain behind them. Napoleon, at a distance, heard the loud cannonade. He spurred his horse to the scene of the conflict. Accustomed as he had long been to the horrors of war, he was shocked at the awful spectacle. Though admiring the desperate daring of Massena, he could not refrain from testifying his displeasure at the carnage which might, perhaps, have been averted by waiting an attack upon the flanks of the enemy by the corps of Lannes, which had passed the river a few miles above.

Napoleon, accompanied by Savary, entered the smouldering town. He found two or three of the wounded still alive, who had crawled into the square where the flames could not reach them. "Can anything," says Savary, "be more dreadful than the sight of men first burned to death, then trodden under the horses' feet, and crushed to atoms by the wheels of gun-carriages."

The only outlet from the town was through a heap of baked human flesh which produced an insufferable stench. The evil was so great that it became necessary to procure spades, such as are used to clean mud from the public roads, in order to remove and bury this fetid mass. The Emperor came to see this horrid sight, and said to us as he went over it, 'It were well if all promoters of wars could behold such an appalling picture.' He spoke some obliging words to General Cohorn on the feat of gallantry he had displayed, but pointed out to him that if he had not suffered himself to be hurried along by his courage, but had waited for the troops that were coming up, previously to making the attack, this heavy loss would have been spared."—*Abbott's Napoleon.*

Such is war; a terrible picture indeed, but a fair and truthful exhibition of the custom. Can it then be right, wise, or expedient? Is it not an insult to common sense to call such a fiendish appeal to brute force a process of justice, a proper, rational, Christian method of settling disputes between either individuals or nations? Yet Christendom itself in this nineteenth century still clings to this relic of a pagan, savage barbarism as its cherished system of international justice, the recognized arbiter of its disputes, the grand test of its civilization, the climax of its glory!

LONDON STAR ON AMERICA.

ITS VIEW OF OUR INCLINATIONS AND TENDENCIES TO PEACE.

THIS paper has been a warm and earnest defender of the loyal cause in the United States during the great struggle now closed, and on that account well deserves our gratitude. But it is not less the true friend of peace; and we have often observed articles in its columns which gave us great pleasure. The annexed we take from the "Daily Star" of the 11th of October last. It is certainly a very encouraging fact that a journal so able and so widely circulated should present such eminently sensible and pacific views on the most important subject connected with the cause of peace.

"Where everybody is still behind is in gunnery," says the Prince de Joinville, in the letter which we publish to-day. The Prince may be right as a matter of fact in the equipment of navies; but where we believe everybody to be still behind is in the science which shall put an end to the necessity for those elaborate provisions for slaughter. We talk of our civilization, and complacently regard our vast commerce, but simultaneously we expend the strength of the country in developing means and instruments of destruction. Let us accept the truth propounded by the Prince, and admit that everybody is still behind in gunnery. He, taking the purely naval view of the fact, thereupon suggests that the American workman should seriously turn his attention to the great problem with the view of devising some engine of war more complete in its powers of destruction than any weapon hitherto in use. We, on the contrary, taking a less professional, but what we submit to be a more rational, view, sincerely hope the American workman will apply his inventive genius to something more calculated to benefit his country and the human race. We have perfect faith in the capacity of the American workman to achieve anything he undertakes; for during the late war he exhibited a most wonderful talent in inventing new methods of warfare, or improving the old weapons. It is to him we owe the monitors, the torpedo boats, the rams, the seven-shooters, the Dahlgrens, the Parrots, and other equally efficient warlike appliances, by which he demonstrated to the world that the country where industry has its greatest development, and individual freedom its widest scope, is the most warlike and the best prepared for war, and not the nation which attempts in a season of peace to keep up vast organizations, and spends its wealth upon preparations which are obsolete before called into action. The American workman, we suspect, would beat the world in inventing big guns, not because he is a better mechanic than the Englishman, but because he is not treated with contempt and frowned down by the formalists who preside in our official seats.

The rulers of America, however, show that they have no taste for continuing to patronize the art of war longer than necessary. They have disbanded their armies with great rapidity; they have sold a large number of their naval vessels; they are bringing to the hammer their vast accumulations of stores. The whole inventive genius of the country is now as keenly turned to peaceful industry as a few short months ago it was to war. In place of big guns, or double-turreted monitors, the people are dreaming of improved cotton gins, of machines to save labor, of better locomotives, of ships to beat in speed the swiftest packets yet launched. It is in these arts, calculated to bless mankind, we desire to see a rivalry between the nations, not in inventing huge engines to hurl missiles of destruction. If we are all deficient in gunnery, let us remain so. If the biggest gun has not yet been

invented, then let the biggest gun remain uninvented. The spectacle which is afforded by two such countries as France and England engaged in an unnatural rivalry as to which shall produce the most perfect iron-clad and the most powerful cannon, while at the same time professing to be only anxious to cultivate peace, is by no means honorable to either. No one imagines that America is less strong because of the disbanding of her army, and the dismantling of her navy. She is as little likely to be attacked after her army is reduced to 20,000 or so of regulars employed to garrison the forts and protect the frontiers, as she was when her army was nearly a million strong, and her navy was numerous enough to blockade effectually three thousand miles of coast. In like manner the desire of the people of England to remain at peace with France, does not arise from any impression of her strength, from the number of her iron-clads, or the size of her army. We know that an attack would be resisted with the whole terrific energy of a warlike people of upwards of 35,000,000, and we know, also, the magnitude of the benefits which peace confers on both countries.

The same sentiments animate the French people towards us. They do not perpetually lie in wait, as some politicians do not scruple to assert, for the purpose of leaping upon England in an unguarded moment. The people of France are too much occupied with their vineyards, their farms, and their industrial occupations, to trouble themselves about the exact number of iron-clads in the English navy, or the precise condition of discipline of the crews. They know the overwhelming power which a free people can exert when compelled to put forth their energies in war, and how utterly hopeless would be the attempt, even were they disposed to court sacrifices and to spill blood uselessly, to capture from England one inch of soil, or one privilege which she was not disposed to yield. France might cease at once with perfect security to build iron-clads, and experiment upon guns; and although England were foolishly to continue to heap up her expenditure in these unprofitable efforts, France would not be in any greater danger of attack than she is now. England, also, might cease her frantic efforts to produce floating fortifications; and even were France to hasten to build ship after ship, and forge gun after gun, she would not venture to attack after impoverishing her people with useless expenditure. But since the folly of preparation is common, let the cessation be simultaneous. The time is most favorable for coming to such an understanding with France as would enable the respective budgets of the countries to present a much more satisfactory aspect. In England we might save as much as would enable the Chancellor of the Exchequer to abolish the sugar duties; in France they might have a balance to be appropriated in extending still further the blessings of that free trade which has done so much for the Empire. With the United States showing her strength by putting off her armor, we in Europe ought to be ashamed of our rivalry in producing iron-clads and big guns.

BRITISH NEWSPAPERS. — Their increase has been steady and rapid. In 1831 the whole circulation of newspapers and class journals in England, Ireland, and Scotland, was about thirty-eight millions and a half. In 1860 the total issue in London alone amounted to nearly 114,000,000; while the recent investigation gives the astonishing result of 195,000,000, or an increase of upwards of seventy-six millions in less than four years. And this calculation excludes about four hundred country newspapers, with an average circulation of about eight hundred each.

LITERARY STATESMEN. — We see not why men of high literary culture should not devote themselves with success to the service of the State; but the fact is that only a few of them have ever done so in this country or the Old World. Burke was by far the best specimen in all English history, while among ourselves scarce a man of much distinction in literature has devoted himself to politics. Charles Sumner is a rare and very honorable exception; and even he has never been, like some of the recent statesmen or politicians of England and France, an author by profession.

“The new British Parliament will contain an unusual number of men who have gained distinction in the literary world. Mr. Gladstone, its foremost member, has written several books, beginning with a work on Church and State, when he was a young man, and ending with an elaborate work on Homer. The novels of Bulwer and Disraeli have made their names more famous than any of their political achievements are likely to do. Among the other old members of literary repute who have been re-elected, may be mentioned A. W. Kinglake, the brilliant author of ‘*Rothen*,’ and the ‘*History of the Crimean War*,’ A. H. Layard, famous for his Nineveh explorations; Sir George Bowyer, author of ‘*Commentaries on the Modern Civil Law*,’ Sir Roundell Palmer, Edward Baines, William E. Baxter, Charles Buxton, J. F. Maguire, and several others. This literary cohort will be strongly reinforced among the new members. There is John Stuart Mill, who probably stands at the head of living English thinkers, and whose published works are very numerous. There is Thomas Hughes, whose ‘*Tom Brown*’ books have won for him the kindest regards of the rising generation, both in England and in this country. There are Mr. Oliphant, who was in this country as the Secretary of Lord Elgin, and whose books of travel have been widely read; Mr. Forsyth, author of an excellent ‘*Life of Cicero*,’ recently published; Mr. Faucett, a blind man, but an able writer and lecturer on political economy; Mr. Torrens, author of a life of Shiel, the Irish orator; and two or three others of respectable standing as literary men.

Contrasted with this array, the literary element in our new Congress appears of a very humble character. But take all among our congressmen, who can make the least claim to the title of literary men, and they may be counted on the fingers. The truth is, literature and politics, in this country, are things separate. Whether the fault is that our literary men have not the practical qualities and the boldness for engaging in politics, or whether political life has been made thoroughly distasteful and repulsive to literary men, we cannot say. It ought not to be either way; and we trust the time is coming when, with the professions, and the different branches of trade and business, the literature of the country will be fully and ably represented in Congress.” — *Boston Advertiser*.

NEW TRACTS. — Four new tracts have recently been stereotyped by our Society; and of these and others 21,000 copies have been published.

EXTINCTION OF OUR DEBT. — It is a very hopeful sign, quite characteristic of our people, that they began, some time before the collapse of our rebellion, to devise ways in advance for extinguishing the enormous debt accumulated in four years. Not only newspaper articles, but large and elaborate pamphlets, like one by Jay Cooke, so well known by his efforts to raise funds for the government among the people, have been published and widely circulated. All this looks hopeful; and yet it must cost a long and severe struggle to pay off a debt of not less than \$3,000,000,000, bearing a larger amount of interest than England's debt of some \$4,000,000,000. It seems that her taxes in paying little more than the bare interest have "averaged eleven per cent. on the yearly yield of her capital and labor for the last forty years." How the present generation, or half a dozen, to follow, are to pay off entirely our national debt, is a very grave problem for statesmen and financiers to solve.

Mr. Cooke's positions, however, are after all quite plausible. "The aggregate debt on the last of March was officially stated in round numbers at 2,367 millions, bearing an interest of 103 millions. Assuming that the war expenditures proper will cease by the first of July, 1865, the total debt will then amount to 2,557½ millions. But taking in every possible liability that may arise, the climax of the debt is estimated at 3,000 millions. Now, the income taxes promise to realize 260 millions for the current year, and customs, public lands and other sources of revenue will bring the total receipts up to 325 millions certainly.

The interest on the public debt cannot rise above 126 millions, which leaves 199 millions for ordinary expenses. Next year the interest on the debt will be somewhat higher, if the Government notes shall be kept so long in circulation; and, if then the whole debt shall be funded, and made to pay the average interest, the latter will amount to 165 millions, leaving for ordinary annual expenditure 160 millions. As our ordinary expenses for the six years preceding the rebellion averaged 63 millions, it may be deemed that the question of providing our national interest, and our ordinary expenditure out of the regular revenues derived from the loyal States only, is safely settled.

Assuming that reduction of the debt may be begun in 1870, the writer estimates, on the basis of the last two censuses, the annual product of the restored Union for every year from 1870 to 1889, twenty years, with the whole burden of liabilities and expenditures during the process of extinguishing the debt. He makes the liberal allowance of two hundred millions for annual ordinary expenses during the first ten years, and two hundred and fifty millions for the last ten years. He also puts the annual product of capital wealth at 25 per cent., although in the decade 1850-60 it was 26.8 per cent.; and yet one per cent. of the total product of the nation, so treated, will, in twenty years, discharge three thousand millions of debt!"

CHARLESTON, THE CRADLE OF THE REBELLION. — One cannot visit Charleston without taking a retrospective glance. The terrific bombardment of over thirty hours that took place four years ago, followed by the surrender of that little garrison under Gen. Anderson, which had displayed a heroism that has never since been surpassed, the feeling of patriotic indignation which brought the nation to arms, the eventful period the country has passed through since the fell hand of treason first struck its unhallowed blow, the impatient anxiety with which millions of freemen have watched the toils and sufferings of our heroic boys in blue, who labored in the trenches at Morris Island, and participated in the assault at Fort Wagner, and in the ever-memorable bombardment of the city, one is reminded as he steps his foot upon the soil of the once arrogant and boasting place which at length succumbed in the deepest humiliation, and now lies prostrate under our heel.

It is apparent after a careful inspection that the city never could have been taken by naval operations. What, with the obstructions, the network of torpedoes, Forte Moultrie, Johnson, Ripley, Pinckney, Sumter, and other huge embankments of sand bristling with guns, and amply protected by traverses forming a contiguous line on each side of the harbor, it could have defied the navies of the world. Sumter, battered and damaged as it was, could have resisted a siege of months longer, and could only have been taken by immense loss of life. Every Union projectile hurled at it only added more strength for its defence. One who served among its defenders informs me that every shot and bolt that was pelted at it only excited a laugh, the garrison viewing them as harmless as balls of cotton. Its uninjured and secure bomb-proofs into which the men ran when our screaming shells burst within the fort, attest its capacity for defence.

In a former letter I spoke of the desolate appearance of Savannah; but the marks of the war in that city are nothing to be compared to the ruin that has been wrought here. It is beyond description. One must only behold it to form an adequate conception. At least one third is in ruins. Acres and acres of costly stores, banks, warehouses and elegant residences have fallen a sacrifice to our shot and shell, and the awful conflagrations with which the city has been visited. Miles of buildings show the damage that has been done. One trembles and holds his breath on beholding the sight. No estimate can be given of the damage. It will be years and years before the land can be rebuilt upon. The rubbish that cluttered the streets has all been removed; but there will be no attempt at present to rebuild, although several houses are being repaired and made comfortable for occupancy. When peace is fixed upon, a firm and ever substantial basis, then the city may, like the Phoenix, rise from its ashes; but it will be years before it will regain its former beauty, or outgrow those painful evidences that now overshadow it with gloom.

A CHAPTER ON THE SOUTH:

OR HOW WAR RECOILS UPON ITS ABETTERS.

THE South chose the arbitrament of the sword; and the results of the rebellion to themselves are a fair illustration of the way in which war commonly recoils upon those who take this method of righting their alleged wrongs. It reads a fearful lesson of warning to the world, and will, we trust, have the effect of dissuading all the friends of freedom and general progress in future from such a suicidal resort for the attainment of their ends.

RECOIL OF REBELLION. — We see all over the South startling proofs of such recoil, but none perhaps more significant or noteworthy than the straits to which it has brought some of its once rich, proud and powerful families. Pinckney has long been in South Carolina an illustrious name, prominent among its leading aristocrats; but we are now told, that "the daughter of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, aged seventy, is receiving rations at Charleston. There are fifteen thousand persons in the city who, like her, are drawing their daily supplies of rice from the Federal authorities."

CONFESSIONS OF EMINENT SOUTHERNERS. — Hon. Herschel V. Johnson, a candidate for the Vice-Presidency in 1860, said to the late State Convention in Georgia, "How sad to think that the South is prostrated, all its enterprise crippled, its pursuits disorganized, its labor destroyed, its agriculture rendered inefficient and unproductive, all our permanent investments in the way of stocks and bonds rendered valueless, in a word, coming out of such a struggle with the conviction which we must realize, in reference to ourselves, that we are indeed a poor people, thrown at a single leap from the highest pinnacle of prosperity down to the most abject and humiliating circumstances of poverty and political impotency."

So Hon. Kenneth Raynor, of North Carolina, exclaims in a recent letter, "I wish to God every man in the North could see and know the real condition of the South just as it is. I have confidence in their feelings of humanity and sympathy for suffering to believe that such a reaction in public opinion never was known as would immediately take place. They would see a people ruined, defeated, humiliated, overwhelmed. This is the truth, and I have no disposition to conceal it. No one seems to have any aims or plans as to the future. What more can the people of the North desire? They have triumphed, they have conquered and subdued the people of the South. The latter are at their mercy. No Northern man can deny that in the struggle, the sufferings and sacrifices of the South have been tenfold greater than those of the North. Ought not the spirit of magnanimity for a brave and conquered enemy now to stay their uplifted arms?"

So far as any feeling of further resistance to the Government is concerned, I do not believe there is the most remote idea of any such thing. Our people seem to have waked up, as it were, from a state of moral measmerism, under which they have labored for four years past. The

disposition is general to adapt themselves to the situation, which, under the dispensation of Providence, has been brought upon them. They long for peace, quiet, composure. They feel that they have paid, and are still paying, the penalty of an unsuccessful resistance to the Government. All they now ask is, that they may not be compelled to wear the badge of slavery."

EFFECTS OF RETURNING PEACE. — These are already in striking contrast with those of war, and full of hope even to the prostrate and bleeding South. On every side are seen, especially in her chief marts of trade, proofs of returning thrift and prosperity far beyond what could have been expected so soon. For the most part, indeed, we must regard this as the result of Northern capital, energy and enterprise seizing on these new opportunities for making money; but the fact, however accounted for, is a very encouraging sign. In Savannah the "Herald," Oct. 11th, says, "The trade and commerce of this city begins to exhibit unmistakable indications of a healthy and vigorous reaction. A large number of steamboats and sail vessels crowd our wharves, and are busily engaged in receiving and discharging freights. An endless procession of wagons, drays and carts, heavily laden with all the various articles of commerce, salute the ear with their incessant din. Indeed, everything begins to assume the appearance of those happy days anterior to the civil war, when the trade of Savannah annually awoke about the first of October from its summer slumber. What is still more satisfactory, the trade is on a sound footing; for it is based upon the interchange and actual delivery of the products and staples of all sections of our State and Florida for greenbacks and merchandise. We do not think that this activity is spasmodic, or that it will prove temporary."

The Charleston Courier represents that "on every street and thoroughfare the marks of energy, industry and enterprise are plainly visible. East Bay six weeks ago was almost barren of open business places, while now it is next to impossible to rent a building covered with a roof. Owners of buildings are actively engaged repairing damages occasioned by fire and water; and long before the repairs are completed, applications are received to occupy the premises. The same holds good with Meeting, King, and other principal streets. There is a great demand for stores and warehouses all over the city, and rents are very high."

So far up the Mississippi. "The brisk and stirring air of business (Oct.) that meets one as he lands at the levee, contrasts favorably with the stern and sullen aspect of things in St. Louis, when it was a garrisoned city and the dark storm-clouds of war hung gloomily around it, and the question whether Missouri was to be rebel or loyal had not been settled by the victories of Federal armies. St. Louis, with thousands of miles of steamboat navigation, and rapid communication with eastern cities, ought to command and control an immense business. Every mile of railroad built west of the Mississippi is a benefit to all the eastern lines, increasing their transportation and travel, and benefiting the

Atlantic cities by bringing the productions of this vast region to their markets. It would astonish those unused to railroad figures to know the millions of tons of freight brought on the railroads to be sent to the Eastern cities and to Europe. Southern merchants are now coming into St. Louis, and ties ruptured by the war are being renewed. Indeed; this renewal of trade between the North and South everywhere is unimpeachable evidence of the folly of disunion.

There is a great movement West. Illinois has increased her population since 1860 more than 500,000; and the census of 1870 will give her more than three millions of people. Her corn harvest will reach a hundred and fifty million bushels the present year by estimate. The same pulses of activity and enterprise that are felt in St. Louis, pervade the State. The proclamation of freedom and the coming of peace have released Missouri from an incubus that weighed its energies to the earth, and from a war that desolated its fair territory, and was as bloody in result as it was barbarous in prosecution.

Peace smiles over the land. I passed the other day on the North Missouri road, Centralia, the scene of Anderson's guerrilla massacre. "In one red burial blent," in a single grave, lay 79 of 132 persons shot down in cold blood by these rebel murderers, who shockingly mutilated the persons of the helpless, sick and unarmed soldiers, whom they dragged from the cars to torture and to death, and in their love of ruin, burned the stations and the trains which they had intercepted. This is a specimen of doings in Missouri a year ago; but loyalty, law and peace now prevail in every section and county of the State."

DANGERS AHEAD.

Our rebellion is dead; but we are by no means out of danger. We never doubted that our rebels would in time be forced into submission; but when the sword should be sheathed in triumph, we always expected to see our country's great crisis come in the form of a moral and political conflict far more trying than any of our battles. This trial we are now approaching; and may the God of our fathers speed and insure the right.

Reconstruction.— Our first and most serious danger will be found in what is called Reconstruction, or the restoration of our rebels to a place in the Union, and a share in the government. The result will probably decide the fate of our country for ages, if not for all coming time. It is doubtless the most important period in our history, the very hinge of our destiny. God grant that the whole question may be decided aright; so decided as to put perpetually in beneficial operation the great principles embodied in our Declaration of Independence, and thus avert forever all such suicidal conflicts as that through which we have just passed. If not thus decided, our future history will be a series of similar, perhaps even worse evils.

Misunderstanding with England.—There ~~ought~~ to have been no such misunderstanding with her, and *would* have been none, if she had done her duty; but her treatment of us during our struggle with our slave-holding rebels, has left deep in the heart of nearly our whole people such a sense of injury, injustice, and a most effective enmity under the garb of neutrality, as threatens to bring serious and lasting mischief. Her aristocratic rulers early made a mistake which they never can, or never will, recall or fully repair, in practically taking sides with our rebels. That she did so of set purpose, and with a hearty will, in the hope of seeing our republic broken in pieces, nearly every man here sincerely believes. After a year or so they change somewhat their course, and finally tried hard to prove that they had acted the part of friends all along; but there still remains such a feeling among us, that only the pacific policy of our government, and peaceful habits of our people, can avert the danger of conflict on questions that have arisen between us during our rebellion. It deeply concerns the friends of peace on both sides to use their utmost influence for the settlement of these disputes by amicable means. Our own government early expressed its willingness to settle them by arbitration; nor can we allow ourselves to doubt that England will at length accept this offer, and thus avert all danger of war. If she refuses, she will take upon herself a fearful and odious responsibility. How fortunate would it have been if the two governments had, as the friends urged long ago, adopted the principle of stipulated arbitration as their established, invariable mode of adjusting all their controversies without a resort in any event to the sword. Is not now a favorable time to press this measure upon these governments, and upon all others through Christendom?

Difficulties with France.—The heart of our people has been, ever since the days of Lafayette, inclined with special favor towards France; but Louis Napoleon's treatment of us during our rebellion, and his attempt, in our weakness and distress, to establish a monarchy in Mexico in contempt and defiance of our cherished principles, is pretty sure to bring us, sooner or later, into conflict with him. It may not at once, if ever, lead to actual war; but we should not be surprised to see it in a few months break off friendly relations between us.

On every side we find the most urgent reasons for the diffusion of our principles. They will always be needed in the intercourse of nations to prevent or settle disputes; and now, if ever, should the friends of God and man, in view of the last four years of bitter and terrible experience, gird themselves anew for the prosecution of their great Christian reform to a full triumph.

PETITION TO CONGRESS IN FAVOR OF ARBITRATION.—Our Committee contemplate petitioning our Government for the settlement of present and all future disputes between us and England by reference to umpires mutually chosen, and for the adoption of this expedient in adjusting whatever difficulties may arise between us and any other nation.

CHAPTER ON FINANCES.

SOME OF THE FINANCIAL RESULTS OF REBELLION.

DIRECT COST OF THE REBELLION TO VERMONT. — It seems from the recent annual message of its Governor, that this small State has paid largely in treasure as well as blood, for the suppression of the rebellion.

"The amount may be approximately stated as follows : —

General military expenses,	\$1,180,000 00
Extra pay to soldiers,	3,904,000 00
Direct tax to United States,	179,407 80
Interest on debt, over premium and interest received on bonds,	320,000 00
	<u>\$5,073,307 80</u>

To this sum may be added the sums paid by towns for bounties to soldiers, which will amount to at least \$4,250,000, making the total contributions of this State in aid of the Government in subduing the rebellion, \$9,323,407.80."

ANOTHER LEGACY OF REBELLION, INCREASE OF LOCAL TAXES. — It would be a curious and very instructive inquiry, how far the late war to put down the rebellion, has increased local taxation through the land. We wish that some statistician, with the taste and leisure necessary to push such an inquiry into its farthest ramifications and results, would take the question in hand, and spread his conclusions in full before the public. It would be a service alike interesting and valuable.

We have ourselves no leisure sufficient for the task ; but our incidental reading has furnished us here and there with some startling facts. Every tax-payer, whether in city or country, has begun already to learn in part what we mean from his own experience. All around us we find that *local* taxes have in most cases more than doubled, and we presume it is so throughout the land. The papers tell us that "the taxes in Philadelphia for 1866 cannot be less than \$3.50 on every \$100 of the present valuation of real estate in that city." In the city of New York we believe it is about as bad ; for its estimated expenses for 1866 reach the enormous sum of \$18,000,000 ! one third more for a single city of little more than 800,000 inhabitants, than the whole annual cost of our national government averaged under the four years' administration of John Quincy Adams, from 1825 to 1829 !

Now, if either of these cities can be a fair index to the increase of local taxation occasioned by the late rebellion, we shall reach some astounding conclusions. Philadelphia spends more than half the interest at six per cent. upon all her property ; and New York, reckoning her population at 900,000, pays twenty dollars for every man, woman and child. At this rate the *local* taxes alone of the whole country, to say nothing of the 3,000,000,000 dollars of national debt incurred by the war, would amount to no less than \$700,000,000 a year, more than half of it all occasioned by the rebellion ! This would, of course, be an excessive estimate ; but on any admissible supposition, the sum-total of increase in local taxation through the country, must be enormous, and not likely to be permanently borne.

LEGACY TO THE PEACE SOCIETY. — Our late excellent friend, JOSEPH E. WORCESTER, LL.D., the great American lexicographer, left by his will, in addition to \$1,000 given not long ago towards a permanent fund of \$30,000 in aid of its object, the proceeds of his Dictionary, the crowning labor of his life. "He gives to the American Bible Society, formed in New York in 1816, and to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the copyright of his Quarto Dictionary of the English Language, each to have one half of the annual income thereof, subject to any incumbrances, charges or contracts existing at his death, said devise to take effect after the death of his wife." How much we are likely to realize from this generous legacy, we cannot foresee; but it is a strong proof of the estimate in which this eminent author held our cause, putting it on a level with the American Bible Society, perhaps the most generally esteemed enterprise of Christian benevolence in the land.

ANNUAL CONTRIBUTORS. — The usual time for our friends to send their annual contributions, is the month of December. Some have already sent theirs; and those who have not, will, we hope, bear in mind how much we shall need their aid in our special effort to bring our cause before the whole community as widely as possible. This we shall do as far as we can get the means. Some few have been very liberal; and we hope all our friends will help us to the extent of their ability, and will forward their gifts at their earliest convenience by mail to our office.

FINANCIAL WASTE OF WAR. — Nine hundred millions of dollars a year for wars past and possible! What wonder in Europe there is a tremor in *public securities* at the slightest danger that this mountainous burden may become "the last ounce" too heavy for the people's backs! It now exceeds by more than \$100,000,000 the unpaid capital of all the banks in the world! It is equal to the aggregate exports of England, France and the United States, and to full 50 per cent. of the exports of all the nations of the world. It is twice the rental of all the real estate of Great Britain. It exceeds the net profit of all the manufacturers in Christendom. It is equal to the annual wages of 4,500,000 agricultural laborers at \$200 per head. It would pay for the construction of 45,000 miles of railway at \$20,000 per mile. It would support 1,200,000 ministers of the Gospel, allowing each \$750 per annum, giving a religious teacher and pastor to every 750 persons of the whole population of the globe. Such is the condition of the people of Christendom resulting from the Waste of War; and its evils of every sort are constantly increasing. It is a mammoth incubus on all the great interests of mankind.

INDEX TO VOLUME XV. — 1865.

- Accumulations, popular, in war, 346.
Alabama, destruction of, 127.
 " Scotch view of, 130.
Alcock, Sir Rutherford, 37.
Angel, Ministering, 316.
Apology to Brazil, 255.
Arbitration, international, 380, 391.
Atlanta, scene at, 212.
America, resources of, 69.
 " ignorance of in England, 129.
Arbitration, 113, 244.
Armaments, on the lakes, 262.
Army, cost of feeding, 32.
 " ours, correspondence of, 206.
 " reduction of, 327.
Armies, large, 219.
 " European, expense of, 84.
 " their reduction.
Austria, debts of, 305.
Banks and war debts, 102.
Battles, of Gettysburg, 84.
 " of the Bible, 61.
 " of Ebersberg,
 " feelings in, 351.
Beckwith, G. C., address of, 275.
Blockade-running, 63, 290.
 " losing business, 201.
Bonds, material, of peace, 318.
 " Ecclesiastical, of peace, 320.
British sentiment and sympathy, 343.
 " expenses, 354.
Bogue, extracts from, 108, 156.
Brazil, apology to, 255.
Brockway, Alexander, his death, 271.
Butler, Gen., and New Orleans women,
 116.
Camps, temperance in, 110.
Captures by Gen. Grant, 350.
Carolina, South, losses by rebellion,
 329.
Catholics, influence against liberty,
 Charities, English, 227.
Charleston, fall of, 256, 329.
 " cradle of rebellion, 377.
 " account of,
Ockamauga, rebel loss at, 73.
Christianity, obstacles to, spread, 37.
Coan, Titus, letter, 106, 297.
Cobden, services to peace, 280.
 " on peace, 350, Tributes to, 318.
Colleges and war, 146.
Commerce, a bond of peace, 309.
Contrast, North and South, 71.
Crisis, present, importance of, 71.
Criticism on the Peace Society, 62.
Crosby, William B., death of, 271.
Danó-German dispute, 244.
Dangers ahead, 380.
Debt, rebel, foreign, 59.
 " our own, 247, 196. Extinction
 " of, 376.
 " England, 314.
Debts, State, increased by rebellion, 152.
 " National, increase of, 247.
 " of Austria, 305.
Democracy and Peace, 213.
Dietetics, 359.
Disarmament, 113.
Difficulties with England, 391.
 " France, 391.
Disraeli on Peace, 329.
Desperation, rebel, 53.
Doctrine, ours, 168.
Dow, Neal, on the South, 71.
Drafts, rebel, 31.
Dunkards, peace-men, 78.
Ebersberg, capture of, 371.
Economy, rebel, 81.
Emancipation as a war measure, 60.
 " in Russia, 74, 180.
 " Poland, 183.
Emigration to America, 64.
England, treatment of, 257.
 " and France, 50 years of peace,
 " 341.
 " as peace-maker, 66.
 " danger of collision with, 65,
 " 290.
Encumbrances, value of, 55.
Endorsement, clerical, of war, 668.
Everett, Edward, on Lincoln's election,
 213.
 " " on rebel treatment of
 " prisoners, 242.
 " " on our rebellion, 310.
Evils of the times, 107.
Example, our, in the rebellion, 349.
Fighting, prize, 33.
 " men of the North, 82, 147.
Finances, chapter on, 382.
 " national, 28, 218.
 " rebel, 29.
 " items, 247.
 " our prospects of, 383.
Flogging, 367.
Florida, the pirate, captured, 196.
Fortifications, what spent on, 28.
France, facts about, 120.
Food for the mind, 89.
Forrest, Gen., his cruelty, 75, 78.
Fund, permanent for peace, 36.
Grant, Gen., his captures, 355.
 " his views, 160.
Generals, Union, 394.
Guerrillas, 15.
Guns captured, 255.

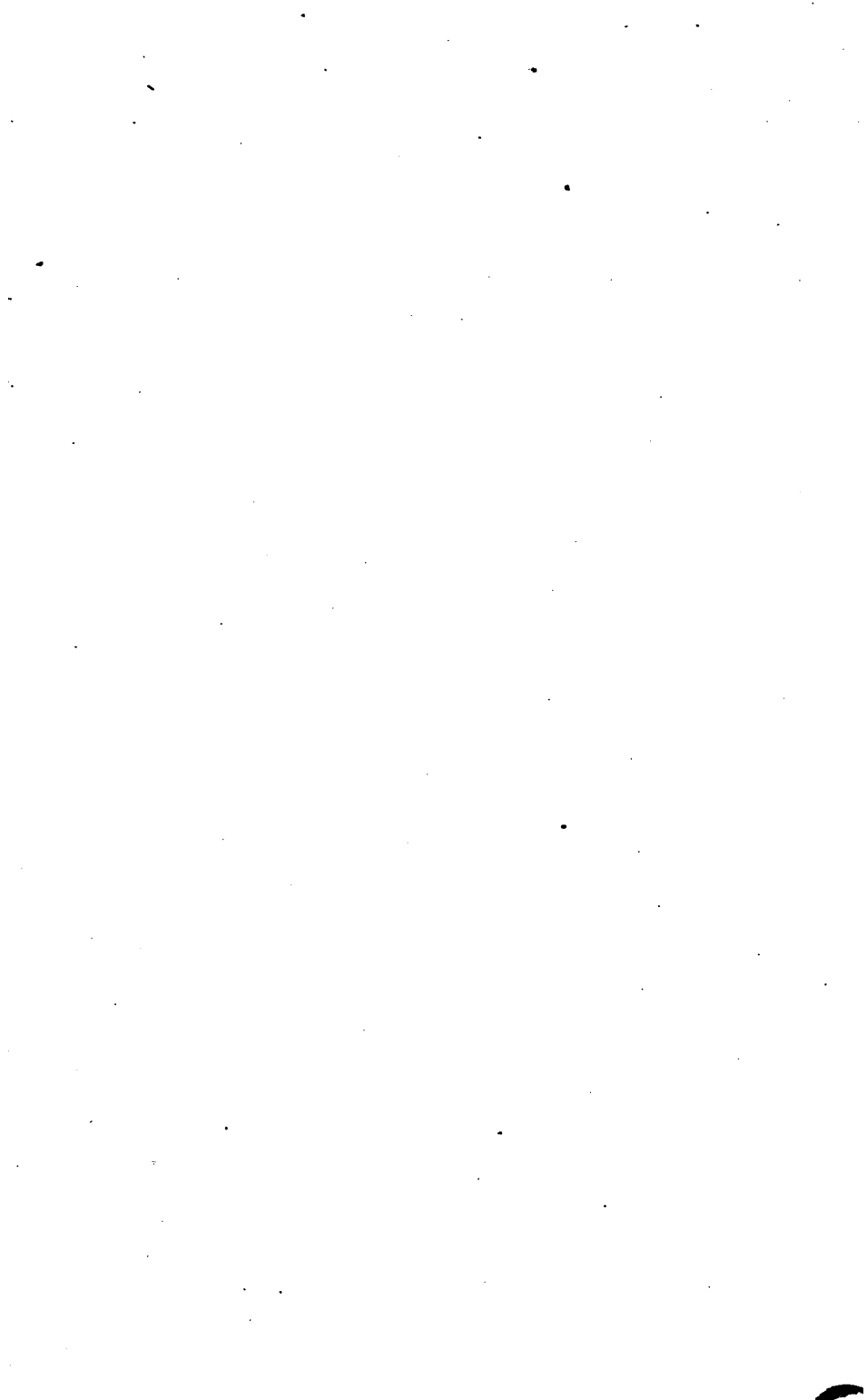
Index to Volume XV for 1864-5.

Hardships, military, 83.
 Heathen, usefulness to, 144.
 Hitchcock, Edward, death of, 60.
 Hospitals, 152.
 Industry, Northern, 47.
 Items, financial, 247.
 Japan, England's relation to, 110.
 Jews in our rebellion, 350.
 Kagosima, burning of, 42, 65.
 Keepner, 42, 65.
 Labor in military operations, 196.
 Lawrence, sack of, 150.
 Leavitt, Dr. J., on Monroe Doctrine, 66.
 Legacy of Dr. Worcester to A. F. S., 304.
 " W. Ladd, 37.
 Legislators, military, 317, 355.
 Lieber, Francois, on Arbitration, 360.
 " note from, 364.
 Life, rebelwaste of, 154-73, 343, 347.
 " statistics of, 20.
 London, glimpse of, 306.
 Loss of life, 120, 257.
 " " in French Revolution, 303.
 " " ours in 1864, 348.
 Lord, A., letter of, 274.
 Malcom, Howard, letter of, 278.
 Massie, Dr., 81.
 Massacre of Fort Pillow, 75.
 Misconceptions of Peace, 133.
 Missions, foreign, success compared with peace, 293.
 Money, continental, 159.
 " for Peace, 197.
 " not the greatest power, 212.
 Morals of war, 348.
 Mortality in war, 348.
 Monroe doctrine, 66.
 Napoleon, Louis, 113.
 Nationality, plea of, 48.
 Nations, as a partnership, 312.
 Navy, ours, its increase, 82.
 " reduction of, 328.
 Navies of the world, 124.
 Negroes, their thrift, 319.
 Newspapers, British, 374.
 " business, amount, 353.
 North, its fighting resources, 82, 147.
 Officers, sacrifice of, 151.
 Oil business, 352.
 Palmerston, views of, on peace, 55.
 Paper currency in America, 109.
 " manufacturers, 253.
 Peace, cause of, Christians responsible for, 16.
 Peace, bond of, from commerce, 309.
 " compatible with government, 202.
 " and democracy, 213.
 " doctrine, testimony to by beathen, 337.
 " elections, 350.
 " fifty years of, 343.
 " material bonds of, 313.
 " and rebellion, 185.

Peace, reform, a permanent work, 47.
 " steady progress of, 289.
 " society, criticism on, 62.
 " " why not more successful, 9.
 " " positions, 56.
 " " reports, 53, 263.
 " " in Liverpool, report, 84.
 " " London, report, 111.
 " measures urged, 356.
 " misconceptions of, 133.
 " need of, 295.
 " present duty of, 104.
 " policy safe, 150.
 " progress of, compared with missions, 293.
 " testimony to by missionary, 10.
 " time to work for, 264.
 " triumph, final, sure, 141.
 " victories of, 249.
 Peace-men exempted,
 " present duty of, 325.
 Peaceful, God's protection of, 108.
 Peel, Sir Robert, on peace, 350.
 Pensions, 23, 33, 248.
 Perry, Commodore, 41.
 Periodical business, 353.
 Poetry, 126, 249, 346.
 Politics and peace, 165.
 Press, periodical, affected by the rebellion, 256.
 Prices, high, cause of, 103.
 " in rebellion, 126, 348.
 Prisoners, how treated by rebels, 21, 72, 161, 184, 220, 242.
 " exchanges with rebels, 83.
 " how rebel prisoners treated by us, 225.
 Prizes, 20.
 Prize-fighting, 33.
 Prosperity in war, 235.
 Quakers, true to their principles, 35.
 " on our rebellion, 44.
 Quantrell's sack of Lawrence, 153.
 Raynor, Kenneth, 378.
 Railways, extension of, 83.
 " their earnings,
 " increase of income,
 Rebellions, American, 333.
 " argument for peace, 101.
 Rebellion, atrocities of 75.
 " antidote to, 229.
 " desperation of, 53.
 " cost of to Vermont, 382.
 " effects of on shipping, 126.
 " facts about, 53.
 " items about, 125.
 " financial effects of, 236.
 " foreigners on, 129.
 " its financial legacies, 332.
 " in China, barbarities of, 146.
 " its pecuniary losses, 329.
 " its pivot, 67.
 " its financial legacy of, 382.

Index to Volume XV for 1864-5.

- Rebellion, magnitude of, 11.
 " London peace society on, 112.
 " its religious results, 159.
 " recoil of, 378.
 " responsibility for its atrocities, 194.
 " Richard, Henry, on, 41.
 " some good from, 296.
 " Mrs. Stowe on, 54.
 " success in suppressing, 218, 255.
 Rebels, belligerent rights to, 293, 298.
 " their persistence, 126.
 " their spirit, 67.
 " treatment of prisoners, 21; of colored troops, 23.
 Reconstruction, 254.
 Reforms effected by few, 81.
 Religion, statistics of, 124.
 Representation, rebel, 32.
 Retaliation in war, 239.
 Revolution of 1776, 109.
 Revolution, crime of, 174.
 Royalty, what it costs, 64.
 Salutes, military, 25.
 Schools, common, loyalty of, 147.
 Secessionism, its recoil, 78.
 " suicidal, 125.
 Slavery, financial revenge on, 291.
 Signs, hopeful, 246.
 Soldiers, efforts in their behalf, 291.
 " how they plunder, 64.
 " fate when fallen, 243.
 " dying, 74.
 " wounded, and his mother, 131.
 South, chapter on, 278.
 Southerners, confessions of, 378.
 Soul, its value, 52.
 Star, London, on America, 373.
 Statesmen, literary, 375.
 " British on peace, 350.
 Sumner, Charles, on the disruption of our republic, 214.
 " his services acknowledged, 279.
 Tax, income of officials, 24.
 Taxes, internal, 324.
 " cost to collect them, 354.
 " colonial, 171.
 " local, increase of from rebellion, 362.
 " prospects of, 383.
 Taxation, in United States and England, 24.
 Testimony, woman's, against war, 227.
 Thurston, David, death of, 271.
 Times, evils of, 157.
 Thompson, J. P., on revolution, 175.
 Tobacco, spent upon, 35.
 Tracts, new, 375.
 Troops, high compensation to, 159.
 " how raised, and what cost, 238.
 Upham, Thomas C., letter, 273.
 Victory, price of, 156.
 Victories of peace, 249.
 Wages, in Europe, 349.
 Walker, Amasa, address, 280.
 Warfare, rebel, 67.
 " guerilla, moral results of, 155.
 " specimens of, 152.
 War, absurdity of, 38.
 " argument for from O. T., 306.
 " avenges insults, how, 179.
 " and colleges, 146.
 " certainty of its abolition, 307.
 " civil, how to close, 172.
 " crime in this, 254.
 " debts, 192.
 " degenerates the human race, 20.
 " deeds commended, 74.
 " economy, 334.
 " effect on morals, 226.
 " " on domestic affections, 250.
 " emulation in, expenses of, 34.
 " endorsement of, by ministers, 368.
 " expenses, personal, incident to, 120.
 " compensation of, 131.
 " evils of, moral, of ours, 79.
 " extent of, in the world.
 " feeders of, 12.
 " getting rich by, 253.
 " glimpse of, 201.
 " habits created in, 348.
 " hardening effect, 58.
 " havoc of life and treasure, 303.
 " insults, how avenged by, 179.
 " and legal rights distinct, 143.
 " and liberty, 347, 365.
 " loss of life in, not known, 120.
 " memorials of, sad, 66.
 " and missions, 132.
 " mortalities in, 348.
 " ours, civil, who responsible for, 67.
 " perpetual, the effect of dismembering our republic, 214.
 " principle, illustration of, 80.
 " plea from Scripture for, 208.
 " prodigality of, comparative, 28.
 " prosperity, never a source of, 82.
 " retaliation in, 239.
 " settlement by, 366.
 " social effect of, 120.
 " some good from, 296, 316.
 " suicidal, 301.
 " substitutes for, 357.
 " suicides of, 399.
 " wastes of, incidental, 28.
 " financial, 364.
 " what it does, rebel widow, 364.
 " to whom its chief credit is due, 60.
 Wealth of business men, 309.
 " how increased by war, 328.
 Wilder, Sampson, V. S., death of, 271.
 Wisdom learned too late, 302.
 Woman's testimony against war, 227.
 Worcester, J. R., legacy to A. P. S.



GRATUITOUS CIRCULATION OF THE ADVOCATE.

FUNDS have been raised for sending it gratuitously for a time, — 1. To a large number of our 4,000 or 5,000 periodicals, in the hope that they will help spread the information it contains, — 2. To a select number of our 40,000 preachers of the gospel, to all, indeed, who take up a collection for the Society, — 3. To prominent laymen, and to the Library or Reading Room of our higher Seminaries, to be preserved for permanent use.

☞ We presume that those to whom it is sent will willingly pay the postage; but, if not, they can return it. We trust that not a few will become subscribers, contributors, or co-workers in other ways. Such information as it contains we would fain put in every family.

THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS.

THE ADVOCATE OF PEACE, monthly, or a double number in two months, making a volume in two years, at \$1 00 in advance for two years.

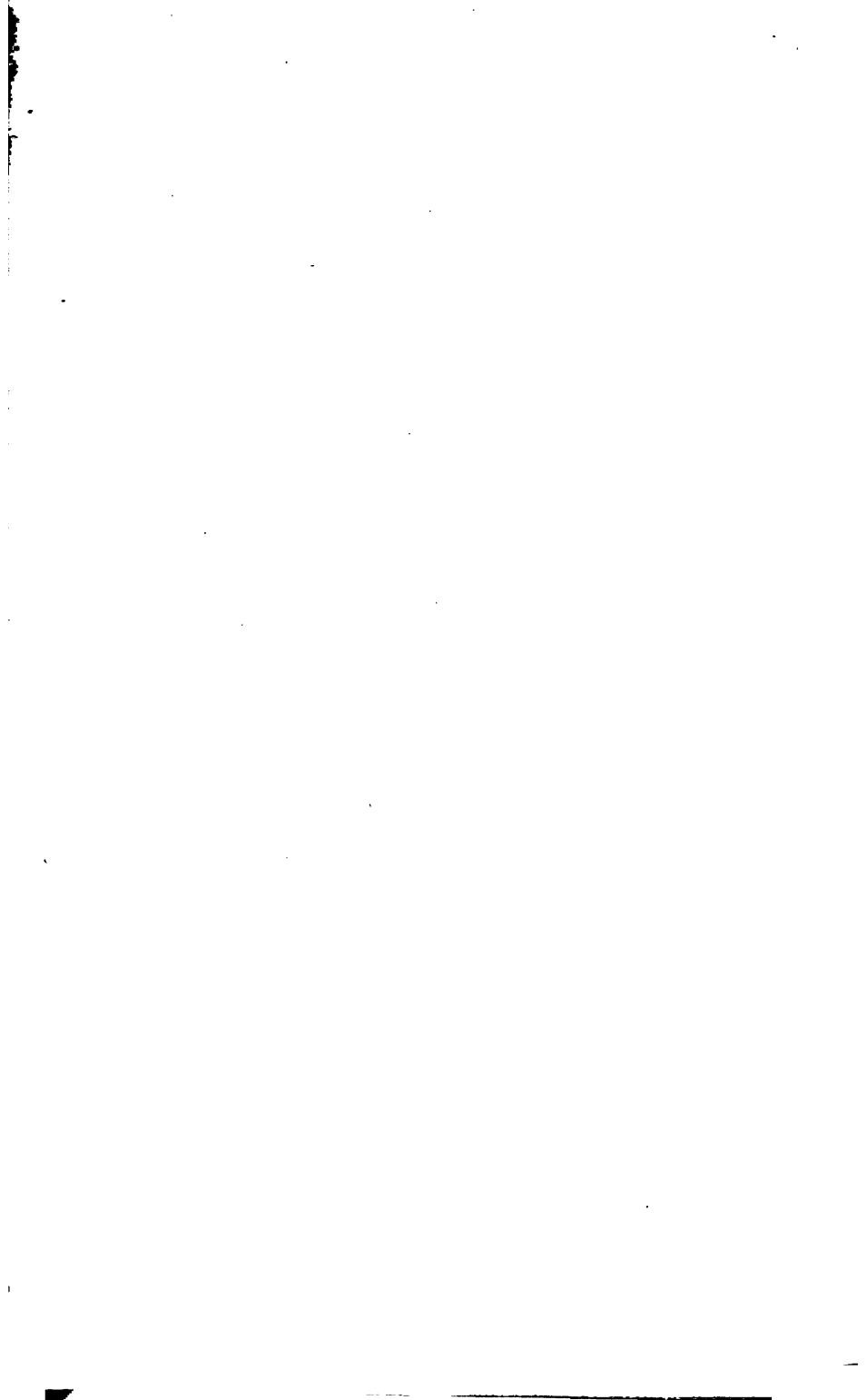
Prize Essays on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 706 (very few),.....	\$3 00
Ladd's Essay on a Congress of Nations, 8vo., pp. 196 (very few),....	75
Book of Peace, 12mo., pp. 606. The Society's Tracts, bound,.....	1 50
Peace Manual, by Geo. C. Beckwith, 18mo., pp. 252.....	40
Manual of Peace, by Prof. T. C. Upham, 18mo., pp. 212 (few),	40
Hancock on Peace, 18mo., pp. 108,.....	30
The Right Way; by Rev. Joseph A. Collier. Pp. 303. Issued by Am. Tract Society, N. Y.,.....	40
Review of the Mexican War, by Hon. Wm. Jay. 12mo., pp. 333,...	50
War with Mexico Reviewed, by A. A. Livermore, 12mo., 310,.....	50
Jonathan Dymond on War, 8vo., pp. 168,.....	40
The War-System, by Hon. Charles Sumner. 8vo., pp. 80,.....	25
Plea with Christians for the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 32. (\$4 per 100)	10
Stipulated Arbitration as a Substitute for War. 8vo., pp. 16,.....	5
Duty of Ministers to the Cause of Peace. 8vo., pp. 12,.....	5
Le Monde; or, In time of Peace prepare for War, by Hon. A. Walker,	10
More than 80 stereotyped Tracts. Various Addresses before the Society. 12mo., pp. 12.....	1

FORM OF BEQUEST. — I give and bequeath to the American Peace Society, incorporated by the Legislature of Massachusetts, the sum of ——— dollars, to be paid in ——— months after my decease, for the purposes of said Society, and for which the receipt of its Treasurer for the time being shall be a sufficient discharge.

☞ Be sure you give the Society its exact name, and have the will drawn in the way, and attested by the full number of witnesses, required by the laws of your State, or the will may be broken.

POSTAGE. — *The law allows only 6 cents a year, quarterly in advance.*

GEO. C. BECKWITH, CORRESPONDING SECRETARY, to whom may be addressed all communications designed for the Society.



5069A
13

25





